



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

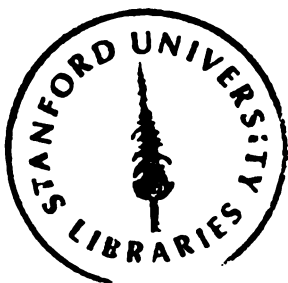
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







VENICE

PART II, VOLUME I



COSTUME of a Venetian Gentlewoman.
Detail of Paolo Veronese's painting,
"The Mystic Nuptials of Santa Caterina"

(Venice: Church of
Santa Caterina)

VENICE

ITS INDIVIDUAL GROWTH FROM THE
EARLIEST BEGINNINGS TO THE
FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

BY
POMPEO MOLMENTI
"

TRANSLATED BY HORATIO F. BROWN

PART II — THE GOLDEN AGE
VOLUME I

BERGAMO
ISTITUTO ITALIANO D'ARTI GRAFICHE
1907

1/2

26676

17

t. 2

11

12.

ONLY EDITION IN ENGLISH AUTHORIZED TO BE SOLD IN ITALY

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, U. S. A.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I	
<i>The New Age—First Symptoms of Decay— Praise and Blame of the Republic . .</i>	I
CHAPTER II	
<i>The Constitution Political, Ecclesiastical, Judicial, Military, and Economic</i>	18
CHAPTER III	
<i>The Conditions of Climate and of Public Health —The Embellishment and Transformation of the City—Horses and Gondolas . .</i>	50
CHAPTER IV	
<i>Festivals and Solemn Receptions—The Carnival —Popular Fêtes—Hostelries and Taverns</i>	73
CHAPTER V	
<i>Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting . . .</i>	97
CHAPTER VI	
<i>The Arts Applied to Industry</i>	121
CHAPTER VII	
<i>The Private Life of Venetian Artists . . .</i>	149

CHAPTER VIII

<i>The Scientific Movement—Occult Sciences and Vulgar Errors—Literature, Poetry, and Satire</i>	204
---	-----

CHAPTER IX

<i>Schools in Venice, and the University of Padua —The Press, Libraries, Literary Coteries, and Academies</i>	248
---	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Costume of a Venetian Gentlewoman — detail of Paolo Veronese's painting, "The Mystic Nuptials of Santa Caterina." (Venice, Church of Santa Caterina).	Frontispiece
Portrait of the Doge Leonardo Loredano, by Giambellino. (London, National Gallery)	6
Triumph of Venice, by Paolo Veronese. (Ceiling of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Ducal Palace)	12
An Audience of the Doge — miniature from the Codex Maggi in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	18
Procurator of S. Marco and Admiral of the Fleet — from the "Customs" of Franco	20
The Lion's Mouth	32
Senators — from a painting by Tintoretto, at the Academy	32
The Pozzi	34
The Bridge of Sighs	36
The Piazza di S. Marco (1500) — from "Paesi Novamente Ritrovati" printed at Venice in 1517 by Zorzi de Rusconi	64
Belfry of the Campanile of S. Marco (1510).	66
The Loggetta of Sansovino (c. 1540)	68
Phantasy on the Gondola, by Tintoretto. (Gallery of Dresden) . .	72
A Carnival Scene — from the "Customs" of Franco	76
Procession of the Doge — from the "Customs" of Franco	78
The Arrival of Henry III in Venice. (A painting by Andrea Vicentino in the Hall of the Four Doors in the Ducal Palace)	88
Gondolas — detail of Carpaccio's painting, "The Patriarch of Grado freeing a Demoniac." (Venice, Academy)	96
Gate of the Arsenal	98
Monument in Honour of Bartolomeo Colleoni	100
The Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi	102
The Giants' Staircase	104

	PAGE
The Library of Sansovino	106
Statues by Sansovino in the Loggetta	108
The Façade of the Church of S. Zaccaria (1457-1515)	110
The Madonna and the Child surrounded by SS. Giobbe, Giovanni Battista, Sebastiano, Francesco, and Ludovico. Altar decoration by Giovanni Bellini (1479?) for the Church of S. Giobbe. (Venice, Academy)	112
The Madonna and SS. Liberale and Francesco — a painting by Zorzon da Castelfranco in the Cathedral of Castelfranco. (c. 1500)	114
Sacred and Profane Love, by Titian (1508). (Borghese Gallery)	116
The Miracle of S. Marco, by Tintoretto (1548). (Venice, Academy)	118
The Presentation of the Child Jesus before Simeon — altar decoration by Carpaccio (1510) for the Church of S. Giobbe. (Venice, Academy)	120
Candelabrum of Alessandro Vittoria (Venice, Museo Civico)	124
Candelabrum of Andrea Baruzzi Salodiano. (Venice, Chiesa della Salute)	124
Venetian Glasses (XVI century). (Palermo, Florio Collection)	134
Venetian Glasses (XVI century). (Palermo, Florio Collection)	136
Venetian Lace of the early XVI century — Drawn-work (a fili tirati). (Florence, Ristori Collection)	138
Venetian Lace of the late XVI century — Needle-point (punto a reticella). (Venice, Museo Civico)	140
Titian's Birthplace, at Pieve di Cadore	164
Sebastian Cabot, aet. c. eighty years — portrait attributed to Holbein	218
Paolo Sarpi — portrait attributed to Leandro Bassano. (Library of S. Marco)	218
Pietro Aretino — portraits by Titian	224
Façade of the University of Padua — from a late XVI century print	258
Specimen of Venetian Typography and Xilography — a page from the "Hypnerotomachia" of Poliphilo. (Venice, Aldus, 1499)	272
Aldus Manutius, the Elder, and Paulus Manutius	274
Binding of the Grimani Breviary, by Alessandro Vittoria	280

VENICE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

CHAPTER I

THE NEW AGE — FIRST SYMPTOMS OF DECAY — PRAISE AND BLAME OF THE REPUBLIC

THE border line between the middle ages and modern times is marked by great events : the monarchies of Europe were secured upon the ruins of extinct feudalism ; the throne of Constantine was finally overthrown ; the Ottoman power appears as a menace to Christendom ; the discovery of Columbus opens up new worlds ; the invention of Gutenberg discloses vaster horizons for the human intelligence. The period of strenuous acquisition is succeeded by the period of display ; on the early life of vigorous expansion follows the prime in all the splendour of its riches ; and that glorious new birth of the human intellect in philosophy, in letters, in the arts, which was in part begun in the previous age, now reaches its culmination. The Renaissance, touching its apogee, intensifies the cult of beauty, harmony, pleasure, but at the same time diverts the Italians from the serious aspects of life, and if it be not the main factor is, at all events, one of the contributing causes in the decay of character and of morals. The excessive and exclusive passion for the rediscovered culture of Greece and Rome destroyed all religious sentiment, and converted the people of Italy into the most sceptical of European races. That exaggerated devotion to the antique which animated courts, palaces, and streets, weakened the spirit of patriotism.

The new learning, drawing its inspiration from classical antiquity and overlaying all progressive speculation, distracted men's minds from the active life of the nation; and so on the ruins of communal liberty arose the despots, and from the undefended Alpine barriers descended the foreigner athirst for plunder.

Amid the countless revolutions of Italy, harried, enslaved, torn, and spoiled by foreign arms, Venice alone continued to enjoy a glorious and vigorous independence and appeared in all the splendour of her pomp and pride. But beneath this dazzling exterior, even in Venice, — the most powerful and flourishing state in the peninsula, — the germs of corruption gradually made themselves manifest. Trade and industry came to be despised by the patricians and were left to the people, morals degenerated, and the population, which in the first twenty years of the fifteenth century numbered 190,000 souls, steadily declined.¹ It seemed as though Tomaso Mocenigo's prophecy was about to be fulfilled. The Doge on his death-bed, after lucidly expounding the riches and prosperity of the Republic, concluded by urging the Council to watch over the future of the State and to abstain from electing as Doge Francesco Foscari, a man of rash designs and steeped in dangerous modern ideas. Mocenigo's advice was not followed, and Foscari once on the ducal throne urged Venice forward to extend her dominions on the Italian *terra ferma*, and exhausted in that enterprise the accumulated wealth which

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, VIII, 414, quotes a census of June 15, 1509, which gives the population at over 300,000, exclusive of friars and nuns. This cannot be correct. The documents give us the following figures for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: 1422, 190,000; 1509, 110,000; 1540, 131,000; 1552, 158,069; 1555, 159,867; 1563, 174,201; 1574, 195,863; 1581, 134,800; 1586, 151,296; 1593, 155,722. Cfr. Beloch, *La popolazione d'Italia nei sec. XVI, XVII, e XVIII* (in the *Bulletin de l'Institut international de statistique*, T. III, 1888, 1 livr.). — Id., *Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Republic Venedig* (in the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie*, Band XVIII, 1889). — *La popolazione di Ven. nei sec. XVI e XVII* (Nuovo Arch. Ven., nuova serie, An. II, T. III, p. 1) — Contento, *Il censimento sotto la R. Veneta*. (Nuovo Arch. Ven., T. XIX and XX.)

should have gone to the support of her sea power. By the close of the fifteenth century the Republic was engaged in wars with Ferrara, with Naples and Pisa, with the French and with the Turks, and was forced to heavy sacrifices in blood and money. Commercial prosperity, meanwhile, began to wane. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, trade with that city all but ceased, though business with Syria and Egypt still remained active; and as long as the sole route to the Indies lay through the Mediterranean with its adjuncts the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, Venice was able to control a large part of the commerce between East and West, and could levy high dues on eastern goods passing through her ports for western Europe. But when the new sea routes were discovered to the Indies and to America, the competition of the Spanish, of the Portuguese, and later on of the English and Dutch, all of whom could ship direct from the East, brought about a decline in the commerce of Venice as well as of the Hanseatic towns. In Italy itself, besides the ancient rivalry of Genoa, Venice had to face the dangerous competition of Ancona and of Leghorn. When to all this were added the losses wrought by the Turks in Albania, the Archipelago, and finally in Cyprus, we may safely say that the sea was no longer faithful to her spouse, and the annual ceremony of the *Sposalizio* lent a sting and a point to the bitter satire of the French poet against the Venetians:

"ces vieux coquz vont espouser la mer,
Dont ils sont les maris et le Turc l'adultère."¹

The change in the conditions of Europe could have dealt no deadlier blow to the Republic than to deprive her of her freedom of movement in foreign parts, — *perdere la libertade in fuori*, as the diarist Priuli

¹ Joachim du Bellay, *Les regrets*, p. 8. Paris, 1876. The first edition of the *Regrets* is dated "Paris, 1538."

4 VENICE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

justly phrases it.¹ The government was aware of the danger and endeavoured to weather the storm. With an insistence that hardly concealed their anxiety, they called for detailed reports on the new discoveries, on the factories, the navigation, the trade, the conquests of the Portuguese in the Indies.² In 1502 the Great Council was alarmed at seeing Venetian shipping *diminuile et venute a meno che a pena se ne atrova sedici che per leze et ordeni nostri ponno condur sali*. In this same year a commission (*Giunta*) was appointed, called the "spice commission" (*delle spezierie*), to come to terms with the Soldan of Egypt, and through him with the Moors, on the subject of the valuable trade in spices, and to filch it, if possible, from the Portuguese.³ The negotiations bore little fruit, for in 1504 we find Venetian merchants complaining of the impoverishment of the market at Rialto, and that the galleys from Alexandria and Beyrut arrive *vode senza collo di spetie, che mai più da alcuno non era stato visto*.⁴

In the same year, it being obvious that a more rapid route from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean was an urgent necessity, the Venetians turned their attention to cutting the Isthmus of Suez. They laid before the Soldan of Egypt a scheme whereby they proposed to make *cum molta facilità e brevità de tempo una cava dal mar rosso che metteva a drectura in questo mare de qua*⁵; but nothing came of it.

In the year 1506 the Ministry of Commerce, the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia*, was appointed to supervise the commerce of the State; but the recommendations

¹ Fulin, *Diari e diaristi veneti*. Venezia, 1881.

² Id., *Dell'attitudine di Ven. dinanzi ai grandi viaggi maritt. del sec. XV* (*Atti dell' Istit. Veneto*, 1881).

³ Id., *Il canale di Suez e la Rep. di Ven.* (*Arch. Ven.*, T. I, p. 175).

⁴ *Arch. Ven.*, T. XXII, pp. 173-174, the *Diari* of G. Priuli: *I Portoghesi nell' India e i Veneziani in Egitto*.

⁵ Fulin, *Il canale di Suez*, etc., cit. (*Arch. Ven.*, T. I, p. 175).

of this body, especially those relating to a reduction of dues, were not accepted, and the principle of rigid protection and of monopolies was maintained. The law of 1363 which forbade Venetian merchants to hire foreign ships for freight for the Levant, was no more protectionist in intent than the law of June 27, 1598, which forbade foreign merchants to trade from the Levant to Venice.

Cristoforo da Canale, in his *Dialoghi di militia navale*, had already sadly remarked that "in former times the Republic, single-handed, had raised many powerful fleets, a thing she certainly could not do now (1539), although the population is both united and obedient, for at present they are so comfortable and well-to-do that nothing short of an imperious necessity would induce them to embark in a galley." Moreover the activity of the arsenal and the hard-working industry of the shipwrights, calkers, and oar-makers had fallen off towards the close of the century, and "all these hands were no longer of that sound quality they once were; nay, if not all, yet at least the larger part are lazy, bad, and all but vicious."¹

And yet the merchants of all nations who continued to flock to the lagoons, especially at the time of the famous Ascension Fair, the annual period of greatest commercial activity throughout Italy, were not aware of the slow decline of Venetian prosperity. India and the East still sent precious freights of gold, aromatic spices, and drugs; the islands of the Archipelago their choicest products. Metal work came from Germany; cloth and woollens from France; silk, wool, and leather from Spain; tapestries and cloth from Flanders; rare furs from Poland and Russia. The ships of San Marco still bore cargoes of gold in bars, ingots, and specie, and, among other precious objects, even ancient

¹ Arch. di Stato, *Relazioni*, Collegio v. Secreta F.^o 77. *Relazione dell'arsenale* presented by Giovanni Priuli in 1591.

6 VENICE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

codices, which, in those days of humanism, were a valuable article of trade.¹

Meantime, while Leonardo Loredan was Doge, the League of Cambray, the severest trial to which the Republic was ever exposed, was formed with a view to attacking Venice. All historians relate at length how Venice stood alone against Europe banded together for her destruction; how the Venetians, alarmed but not crushed by the defeat of their arms and the misfortunes of their country, held firm in its defence, until at last they rose again, thanks to the fact that they had never despaired of their country's safety. Those direful days are more vividly recalled in the passages from private memoirs than in the stately pages of historiographers. It is Sanudo who records in his Diaries that "tutti pianzeva"; and Luigi da Porto of Vicenza, the engaging author of the novel *Giulietta e Romeo*, no timid friend of truth, tells us, not without a touch of maliciousness, how panic-stricken were the people of Venice. "A tante avversità," he writes, "non si sa per quanta urgenza fare alcun provvedimento; si che questa città si vede avvilita, ed il governo pavido e smarrito. E già alcuni nobili viniziani, abbraccian-domi e piangendo mi hanno detto: *Porto mio, non sarete oggi mai più de' nostri*. E volendo io render loro la solita riverenza, mi dissero *ch'io nol facessi, perciocchè eravamo tutti conservi in una potestà et eguali*; poichè la fortuna gli aveva ridotti a tal punto, che più non ardivano di stimarsi signori, nè più chiamare il loro doge serenissimo. Alcuni altri, di maggior ordine ancora, si veggono con fronte priva di ogni baldanza

¹ Beccaria, *Una pirateria e un inventario di stoffe veneziane del secolo XV* (pub. per nozze; Palermo, 1895). In 1491 Francesco Vassallo, a Venetian, captain of a ship with a rich cargo, bound for Constantinople was captured and made prisoner in the Levant by the Biscayan buccaneer Giovanni de Orlan. King Ferdinand of Naples caused the pirate to be pursued, and the Venetian prize was recovered and consigned to her owners with her cargo intact, after an inventory had been taken.



Portrait of the Doge Leonardo Loredano, by
Giambellino. (London, National Gallery)



andare per la mesta città con passo non continuato, ma oro frettoloso ora lento, ed abbracciando ora questo ora quello, far certe accoglienze sproporzionate, ed alcune blandizie alle genti, che non amore ma timore smisurato dimostrano. In fatti tutta Venezia in dieci giorni è cambiata di aspetto, e di lieta è divenuta mestissima . . . molte donne hanno dimesso il loro superbo modo di vestire. . . . E sì poco sono a tali percosse usi li Viniziani che temono, non ch' altro, di perder anche Vinezia."¹

The misfortunes of the war and its painful consequences are portrayed with even livelier directness in the letters which Martino Merlini, a Venetian merchant, wrote to his brother Giambattista at Beyrut, where the Merlini had an agency.² In his letter of June 23, 1509, Martino begins by deploring the League which was formed on December 10, 1508, at Cambray by Louis XII of France, the Emperor Maximilian, Pope Julius II, Ferdinand of Spain, the Estensi, and the Gonzagas against the Republic. "Et avanti te diga altro fradelo carissimo," he says, "chomenzerò a dirte le poche parolle al modo se atrovamo perchè e son zerto sarai desideroso de intender più tosto le nuove hochorse cha fazende de merchadanti, chè de quelle non se ne parla. Come tu sai, per le ultime mie te scrissi che de qui se apparecchiava un aspra e crudel guera per una lega fatta, e non vojo dir liga ma cruziata, contra a questo povero stato, che mai per cristiani sea posuto unir et ligar contra turchi chani et infidelli una tal cruziata chome iano fato contra de noi poveri veneziani, che sempre siamo stadi, chome tutto el mondo sa, schudo e defensori dela jexia e de tuta la cristianità."

After describing the preparations for war, the defeat

¹ Da Porta, *Lettere storiche*, p. 43. Venezia, 1832.

² Dalla Santa, *La lega di Cambray e gli avvenimenti dell' anno 1509, descritti da un mercante Veneziano contemporaneo*. Pub. per nozze. Venezia, 1903.

In the new conditions of Europe the Republic appeared no less admirable than in the past; and though certain sources of revenue were running dry and other misfortunes overtook the State, the prudence of her foreign policy kept even pace with the forethought which was applied to the administration of home affairs. An admirable clarity of vision marked every act of public life, even the most trifling; a wise egoism, if we may use the phrase, was the informing principle, and every conceivable question in public life was measured by the sole consideration of the profit or loss which might accrue to the State. Heirs of a traditional common-sense, the patricians, who nevertheless admired and worshipped nobility of conduct, never for a moment allowed themselves to be led into sacrifices for an empty ideal. Hence in their action we recognise something large and strong, far removed from feeble sentimentality. They held that in public affairs nothing is more harmful than concessions and scruples. For example, to take one mere detail, foreign ambassadors were received with every imaginable outward regard, but they were really considered as secret foes and were surrounded by vigilant distrust. So strong was this insistence on the interests of the State that even the duties of hospitality were forced to give way, and severe penalties were meted out to the patrician who had any intercourse with a foreign envoy or his household. The Venetian ambassadors at foreign courts adapted themselves with remarkable ability to the habits and customs of the countries to which they were accredited, but foreign ambassadors on the Lagoons were debarred from all intimacy with the patriciate and jealously prevented from acquiring too close a knowledge of the affairs of Venice. Failing to bear in mind that every act of Venetian policy was inspired by a sole regard for the welfare of the State, we might easily mistake the indifference of the Venetians

to all that affected other peoples for cold-blooded cynicism. As an instance, we may cite the replies given by the Doge Andrea Gritti to the Imperial and to the French ambassador after the defeat of Francis I at Pavia. The Imperial ambassador entered the Cabinet as the French Ambassador, the Bishop of Bayeux, was leaving, and the Doge, who had just condoled with the French, congratulated the Emperor, adding with a smile that there was no contradiction in his words, for as the Republic was equally the friend of both monarchs it followed Saint Paul's injunction to weep with those that weep and rejoice with those that rejoice.

Venetian intelligence was directed solely to the acquisition of that most difficult of all knowledge, knowledge of one's self. The fascination of an over-refined culture failed to seduce the Venetians, who had before their eyes the example of Florence, which, in spite of the subtle acuteness of its intellect and the exquisite delicacy of its culture, had failed to preserve its freedom; so true is it that it is not always the keenest wits that best understand the art of governing, and that modest but practical common-sense is worth more than lofty intelligence which is apt to be restless and is ever too ready to embrace rash courses. The Venetians, on the contrary, acquired an universal fame for sound judgment, and were frequently called in to decide controversies between various States of Italy, while distant courts were wont to invite the decision of the citizens of San Marco in the phrase *eamus ad bonos Venetos*. Patient under difficulties, the Venetians were as firm in abiding by a decision as they were slow in arriving at it, nor did they ever allow themselves to be led aside by sentiment or ambition. Ambitious they certainly were, but they were also admirably disciplined, and were ready, individually, to lay aside the highest offices and to return to private life.

Notwithstanding its rigid principles and the aridity of its sentiment, the Venetian government was not only feared but loved by its dependents. The governing body did not adopt the motto of the Roman Emperors, *oderint dum metuant*, and the people who served them loyally received in return peace, and a government almost free from taxes. It is precisely to this attitude that we must ascribe the affection for the Republic which still survives among the peoples of the Dalmatian coast. The Venetians were astute enough not to weigh too heavily on conquered races, but to create for themselves loyal and devoted subjects, leaving intact local customs and statutes and instructing the governors to exercise impartial justice, to listen to the natives, and to protect them against the petty tyrants of the mainland. Every now and again government commissioners, called *Sindici*, were sent to examine the conduct of the Rectors and to hear complaints. Thus, treated as capable of obedience but not of slavery, the people, who had under their eyes the example of Spanish tyranny in the Milanese, were well content with the mild rule of the Venetian Republic.

Venice, the richest, the freest, and comparatively the happiest among Italian cities, is represented, by Paolo Veronese in the Ducal Palace, as a human being, surrounded with gold and gems, with purple and brocade, crowned by Glory, and supported by Valour, by Ceres and Juno, acclaimed by Fame. We have an echo of the admiration and even veneration for Venice in the hymns of triumph sent up by a legion of poets, small and great; and from the close of the fifteenth century Venice knew how to make use of this popular enthusiasm for the diffusion of her policy, as a testimony to her merits and as an instrument to mould popular opinions.¹ The admiration for Venice flows forth in a flood of Latin and Italian verse which makes a

¹ Medin, *La Storia della Rep. di Ven. nella poesia*, p. 139.



TRIUMPH OF VENICE, by Paolo Veronese. (Ceiling
of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Ducal Palace)

Photo by Anderson

curious contrast to the bitter epigrams and envenomed invectives of her foes. The Muse escorts the Republic on its conquests and its campaigns, comforts it in disaster, acclaims the wisdom of its laws, the beauty of its art, its amazing wealth, its singular customs. In Latin and in Italian poems, odes, songs, sonnets, idylls, epigrams, an innumerable throng of poets, — Marcantonio Sabellico, Francesco Modesti of Saludecio near Rimini, Gregorio Oldoini of Cremona, Francesco Arrigoni of Brescia, Bartolomeo Pagello of Vicenza, Monsignore Giovanni della Casa, Andrea Navagero, Bernardino Tomitano,¹ to mention only the better known, — vie with each other in praise of Venice; all join in chorus to laud the city which Gabriello Chiabrera calls the *Sposa di Nettuno*,

l'adorno seggio
ove la cara libertà ripara.

Nor are foreigners wanting in this train of encomiasts; the Frenchman Marcantonius Muretus writes a Latin ode on the glory of Venice, and another French poet, Jerome d'Audebert, after describing the monuments, the *fêtes*, the customs, the naval power of the Republic, dwells at length on the magistracy, and exclaims that sounder justice could not be found even in the Saturnian age:

Cultus justitiae, sancti reverentia juris
equior aurato Saturni non fuit aevo.²

The well-known epigram by Jacopo Sannazzaro, who sang the praises of Venice in Latin elegiacs, was imitated, paraphrased, or copied by hundreds of

¹ The titles of the works by these authors are to be found in the Bibliographies of Cicogna and Soranzo, in Jacopo Morelli's *Componimenti poetici di vari autori in lode di Venezia*, Venezia, 1792, and in the work of Medin, already quoted.

² Germani Audeberti, *Venetiae*. Venetiis, Aldus, 1583.

14 VENICE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

poetasters,¹ who open the gates to that flood of verse which was poured out during the Seicento, though we must acknowledge that the high-sounding phrase did not always correspond to the facts.

But the wisdom of the Venetian constitution and the justice of Venetian laws aroused the admiration not of facile or venal flatterers only; they won the respect of severer critics as well. In 1539 a friar of lofty character, Bernardino Ochino, preaching with stirring eloquence in the church of the Frari, thus apostrophises the City of the Lagoons: "E guardo in ogni parte, non vi è più torre, nè città in Italia, che non sia perturbata, solo la città tua sta alquanto in piede; e però mi pare che tu contenga in te . . . tutta l'Italia."²

¹ We quote Sannazzaro's epigram:

DE MIRABILE URBE VENETHIS

Viderat hadriacis venetam Neptunus in undis
Stare urbem et toto ponere jura mari;
Nunc mihi tarpejas quantumvis, Jupiter, arces
Obiice, et illa tui moenia Martis, ait.
Si pelago Tybrim praeferes, urbem adspice utramque:
Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse deos.

G. B. Crispo of Gallipoli in his *Vita del Sannazzaro* says: "negli Epigrammi argutissimo e pieno di molto sale: e per uno solo fattone in lode del meraviglioso sito di Venetia, mi afferma il signor Aldo Mannucci haverne avuto in dono cento scudi per ciascun verso dalla Serenissima Repubblica." Inspired, no doubt, by this fact, many other poets imitated the verses of Sannazzaro. We quote the following variant from the poems of the Brescian Arrigoni under the title, *De omni Venetorum excellentia*:

"Humanus labor est in terra ponere muros
Divinus autem in aequore."

² Ochino, Bernardino, *Prediche predicate nella inelita città di Vinegia del 1539*. Vinegia, Bindoni e Pasini, 1541 (a very rare opusculum in the Biblioteca Guicciardiniana in the Bibl. Naz., Florence) p. 24. Bernardino Ochino of Siena (b. 1487), a preacher of great renown and spiritual director of Cardinal Bembo. In 1542 Bernardino was attracted to the ideas of the Reformation, and fearing persecution from Rome, he fled to Geneva. He died in 1564 at Schlacken in Moravia. Cf. Benarth, *Bernard Ochino von Siena*. Leipzig, 1872.

"O signor mio," so writes Paolo Giovio in 1544 to Fedeli, the Venetian Resident in Milan, "il nome Italiano sta fresco se l'Evangelista non tiene fermo il stendardo," and he adds that the standard of the Evangelist is the standard of Italian freedom.¹ In that very year the Papal Nuncio at Venice was Monsignor Giovanni della Casa, author of the *Galateo*; he lavished praise in prose and verse on Venice the fortunate, given by God's grace to Italy in happy hour "e sopra quante città mai furono, dalla terra e dagli uomini riverita e dal cielo e da Dio innanzi ad ogni altra amata e cara tenuta."

The Venetian patricians sought by every means in their power to further the public service "aspirando senza intermissioni a legationi et magistrati, non perdonando per conseguirli, o esercitarli ad alcuna fatica, o spesa quantunque grande; un obsequio, oltre a ciò verso i più antichi, un applauso generale verso i migliori, una salutare emulatione verso i più grandi che maggiormente per honesta contentione genera utilità e diletto, che per tumulto civile possa causare scandalo o danno" — thus, in 1565, wrote Salvago to Camillo Paleotto, who was on a visit to the city of Venice, the asylum of Italian freedom.²

Bernardo Tasso, speaking of Venice to Count Claudio Rangone, exclaims: "Non è ella l'ornamento e lo splendore dell' italiana dignità? Non rappresenta ella una immagine dell' autorità e grandezza della romana repubblica? In questo oscuro e tenebroso secolo, quale altra luce o splendore è rimasto alla mia misera Italia? Non siamo noi tutti servi, tutti tributarii, non dirò di barbare, ma di straniere nazioni? . . . Questa sola ha conservato la sua antica libertà; questa sola a niuno (fuor che a Dio e alle sue ben ordinate leggi) rende

¹ The letter was published by F. Stefani in the *Arch. Veneto*, T. I, p. 374.

² *Ritratto della vita civile dei Veneziani nel 1565*. Pisa, Nistri, 1879.

ubbidienza. Conserviamo queste reliquie, anzi questo esempio della antica dignità.¹

More curious and more significant than these facile laudations are the venomous satires and poisonous diatribes against a State which on account of its power and its wealth could not fail to awaken jealousy, envy, and hatred. When the League of Cambray was formed against the Republic, poetry, too, launched its sullen threats, and the Frenchman Pierre Gringore announced the coming vengeance :

Tremblez, tremblez, bourgeois veniciens,
vous avez trop de tresors anciens
mal conquestez ; tost desployer les fault.

And Italian rhymesters joined the chorus of foreign invective ; for example, Betuzzo da Cotignola exclaims :

Mora, mora Veneziani
mora 'sti arabiati cani
con soi falsi tradimenti
e da ogniun scciati e spenti
sien tutti a questo passo.²

After the defeat of Agnadello the insults and invectives of the French, German, and Italian foes of Venice, rejoicing in her discomfiture, grew fiercer and more menacing. Venice was too great to escape the exultation of the envious at her abasement. Louis Eliau, Ambassador of Louis XII of France to the Princes of Germany, inveighed against the *maledetta superbia dei Venetiani*, who treated kings and princes as *piltocherie d'uomini* and despised all who had not sequins by the thousand in their coffers. But Venice by her constancy and ability outlived both threats and dangers, and silenced her calumniators. Even the fierce accuser Eliau is forced against his will to exclaim : " Grande è la potenza dei Veneziani, imperciocchè quelli che hanno trovato ardimento d'aspettar in campagna aperta quattro

¹ B. Tasso, *Lettere*, Vol. I, p. 72. Padova, 1733.

² Medin, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 151.

Principi li più potenti dei Cristiani, e spiegate le bandiere combattere a guerra aperta, certamente dovemo stimare e giudicare huomini potentissimi.”¹

¹ *Orazione di Lodovico Helliano, ambasciatore di Francia ai Principi di Germania contro i veneziani.* Bib. Marciana, cl. XI, Cod. CLXXX. The original Latin text has been printed. Another copy, a translation, is to be found in the Bib. Militare at Turin. Cf. Bargilli, *Manosoritti della Bib.*, p. 21. Torino, 1905.

CHAPTER II

THE CONSTITUTION POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, JUDICIAL, MILITARY, AND ECONOMIC

THE nature of the Venetian constitution, in which various offices were linked together and acted simultaneously like the wheels of a watch, helps to explain how it came about that the striking energy of individual Venetians was able to proceed in so orderly and regular a fashion. The Doge, who had the appearance but not the actual power of a sovereign, signed all the more important acts of the Republic, presided in its supreme councils, and, assisted by the *Collegio*, or Cabinet, received princes, ambassadors, captains, and other distinguished personages.¹

¹ We have various representations of these solemn audiences in which the Doge appeared in all his majesty. We reproduce a miniature, almost entirely unknown, which shows us an audience of the Doge in 1571, the year of the victory of Lepanto. It is taken from a codex in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Print room A, d, 134) and is thus described: "Description historique d'un volume composé de tableaux peints en miniature, qui représentent les voyages et les aventures de Charles Magius, noble Vénétien (?), depuis que les Turcs attaquèrent et prirent l'île de Chypre sur les Vénétiens, jusqu'après la fameuse Bataille de Lépanthe, gagnée par les Chrétiens contre les Infidèles en 1571." The volume passed from the library of the late M. Guyon de Sardière into the library of M. le Duc de la Vallière. The Codex is also mentioned by Morelli (*Operette*, Vol. II, p. 137). The patrician family of Magi became extinct in 1307. There was a *cittadina* family of the same name, probably a branch of the patrician Magi which had become separated from the main stock before the legal establishment of the oligarchy. Charles Magi, who made long voyages in the Levant, was not a patrician, but a citizen, father of Antonio, secretary to the French Embassy. The will in the Arch. di Stato (*Sezione Notarile*) thus indicated, "Testamento . . . di Magi Carlo fu Gio. Francesco viaggiatore, March 5, 1587, N° 237," is certainly the



As Audience of the Doge — miniature from the
Codex Maggi in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The Cabinet, composed of twenty-six nobles, namely, the Doge and his six Councillors, who formed the *Signoria*, three Chiefs of the *Quarantia Criminale*, or Supreme Court of Justice, six *Savi Grandi*, five *Savi di Terra ferma*, five *Savi degli Ordeni*, was entrusted with the representation of the State and distributed to the various branches of the administration all the multifarious business of the Republic. To the Great Council, presided over by the *Signoria*, belonged the supreme authority. The Senate, the soul of the Republic, called the *Pregadi*, from the ancient custom of inviting certain citizens to assist the Doge with their advice, was charged with the public administration and the questions of war and peace. The *Savi Grandi*, *di Terra ferma*, and *degli Ordeni* formed the executive and had the power to initiate business in the Senate. The Council of Ten was entrusted with public safety. Attached to these high offices of State and controlled by them were other government departments for the administration of justice, for the control of revenue, for the direction of trade, for public works, for the management of the army and navy, — departments, in short, so numerous and with such varied and complicated attributes that it seems impossible that the public service should not have been seriously hampered; and yet precisely the reverse took place, and the Venetian administration proceeded with a smoothness and regularity never equalled in any other country. From the smallest affairs to the most momentous, from the rules of debate to the method of voting,¹ from the

will of our Charles Magi. It begins "Laus Deo M^{ia} et Omnium Sanctorum, 1587 addi 5 marzo in Venetia. Nella mia solita habitation. Nella contra de S. Marcilian in corte vechia della Procolatia de Citra."

¹ The method of voting, in the great assemblies of the State, varied from time to time. Usually it was secret, *cum bussolis et ballotis*. The ballot box, *bossolo*, was composed of three separate boxes, one white for the "aye" votes, one green for the "noes," one red for the neutrals (*non sinceri*), a vote of no weight as given by a voter who felt incapable of a definite judgment. The necessary quorum varied also according to the

distribution of offices to the secrecy of deliberations, all was calculated with the most singular prudence, and an organisation which in other circumstances would have seemed either vicious or erroneous became, in Venice, an untold benefit to the State. For example, in the Senate, nominally composed of one hundred and twenty nobles, many other magistrates had a seat and a vote, such as the Procurators of Saint Mark, the Council of Ten, and the whole Bench of the *Quarantia Criminale*. And yet the business handled by this large body was never retarded, nor the secret of debate violated. Furthermore, the Senate was elected each year anew, and affairs of State, which usually require a long experience, came to be dealt with by fresh and uninformed hands. Even the ancients found it necessary to provide against this drawback, and the provisions of Lycurgus created Senators for life, while Solon made the Senate a permanent instead of an annual body. But here again, in Venice, what had the appearance of a defect really proved to be a benefit, partly because the whole body was not renewed every year; some were re-elected, while the annual election permitted the exclusion of those who had proved to be incompetent, and the infusion of new and vigorous blood.

History offers us few examples of a small State ruling a wide dominion with political wisdom, and such States can hardly ever be democratic, for to govern vast territories with scanty forces demands the existence of a continuous policy or rather the absence of the spirit of bold innovation in the public administration. The Venetian aristocracy closely resembles the British aristocracy of to-day in its principle of hereditary statesmen who hand down the art, the secret, the traditions of government from father to son, and thus

Council. Half or a bare majority was sufficient in the *Maggior Consiglio* and in the Senate, but in the *Quarantia* the College of XV, for example, required the presence of eleven members to make a quorum, the College of XXV, seventeen.



(A)



(B)

A—PROCURATOR OF S. MARCO. B—ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET — both from the "Customs" of Franco

preserve unchanged the fundamental principles of government in spite of a constant change of individual statesmen.

The authority of the law which defined the relations of Church and State and of individual men to one another and to the State continued in admirable vigour. It was the excellence of the Venetian law, above all, that won for the Republic such lasting respect. The life of Venice is unfolded in all its grandeur; Venetian morals are governed and corrected by the admirable code of the Republic.

In her ecclesiastical legislation Venice always drew a subtle distinction between affairs temporal and spiritual. The Doge Leonardo Donato, in declaring to the Nuncio that "Il Principie non conosce nelle cose temporali alcun superiore dopo la divina maestà," was merely expressing that great politico-religious principle which gave to the Republic those qualities of virile will and acute intelligence which we so much admire. All other human authority must bow before the authority of the State. Thus at the Council of Trent Venice accepted all the decisions which concerned dogma, but steadily refused to recognise the canons of ecclesiastical discipline which infringed her own code or invaded her rights. The clergy were called upon to obey the Pope in matters spiritual, but in matters temporal their allegiance was due to the State, as in the case of other citizens. The relations of the State to the Church were based upon a union of severe regulations coupled with pious benefactions. Venetian ecclesiastical policy took its colour from this apparently contradictory order of ideas. Not only did the State display a profound piety, a deep reverence for all that was hallowed by the Church, — she won for herself the title of *città apostolica e santa*, — but she even sought to draw to her side the sacerdotal element in the State by surrounding the ecclesiastical office with respectful consideration,

regards their ministry were regulated much as the mechanic was regulated by that inherent principle of the Venetian constitution which undertook the supervision of all component parts of its social structure and made no exception in favour of the church.¹

The head of the great ecclesiastical family² was the Patriarch. Pope Nicholas V suppressed the Patriarchate of Grado, and transferred its metropolitan jurisdiction to the Bishop of Castello. In 1451 the Republic elected the first Patriarch of Venice in the person of Lorenzo Giustinian. The Venetian clergy was composed of nine congregations, numbering three hundred and sixty priests. Each congregation was presided over by an arch-priest. Priests, deacons, subdeacons, and clerks served the churches, whose parish priests were elected by the parishioners or neighbours.³ The six *sestieri* of the city were, in the fifteenth century, divided into seventy-six parishes, to which we must add eight churches served by friars.

At the time of the interdict under Paul V, an anonymous writer in Rome showed himself a fierce opponent not only of the Republic but also of the Venetian

¹ As a curiosity we quote a decree of the eighteenth century which places out-door preachers on the same footing as mountebanks, and orders them to observe the town regulations in the exercise of their calling: "Adì 17 Gennaro 1743 [m. v.]. Si fa Nota esser stato ordinato da S. E. Cav. Pr. Cassier Misser Marco Foscarini al Predicator di Piazza; il dovere alle ore 22 e meza di cadaun giorno di questo Carnovale aver terminata la Predica, e discender dal Pulpito; e ciò a mottivo che non succedano scandali e disordini nel maggior concorso delle maschere; e perchè anche li Ciarlatani, Casotti, et altri che in tal tempo concorrono in Piazza possano aver tempo di esercitare la loro arte; ordinandogli pure che non debba esser trasportato il Pulpito nel mezzo della Piazza se non nel punto che dovrà ascenderlo; ordinandone la presente nota per memoria del tempo avvenire." (Arch. di Stato, Proc. *de Supra*, B. 76, fasc. 5, Proc. 176.)

² The churches in Venice at this date numbered over one hundred and twenty.

³ "Li piovani de le contrade si elezeno da li parocchiani a ballota, zoè da quelli che hanno stabele in detta contrada; e poi vien scritto a Roma tal electione, et sono dal pontifice confirmate." Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, ed. by Fulin, p. 53. Venezia, 1880.

priesthood, and thus describes their vices and their ignorance: "Il Piovano viene eletto dalla Parocchia, dando ciasch' uno che ha la casa il voto, e quello che ha più voti resta Piovano e questo per l'ordinario è quello che ha più pratiche et amicitie, e no' si ha l'occhio nè a virtù nè a meriti, dove che sono sempre questi eletti li più ignoranti, e più viziosi, e scelerati, che sono in quelle Chiese, l'altri preti poi dell' istessa Chiesa si eleggono da loro stessi a più voti, dal che nasce che tutta la pretaria di Venetia sta sempre impiegata in queste pratiche, e imbrogli, e niuno attende a virtù . . . e quindi in Venetia no' si fa furfanteria che no' vi sia adoprato per mezzo per ordinario un frate o un prete, li quali a guisa di umilissimi servitori corteggiano e servono i Nobili, et altri della Parocchia, e perchè per l'ordinario questi benefitii son tenui, nessuno nobile Venetiano, nè mercante nè artista honorato si fa Prete e così tutti i Preti di Venetia ordinariamente sono di queste tre sorte, cioè è o figlioli di p. . . , o figlioli di barcaroli, o figlioli di servi; e però come gente vile et ignorante e che non attende se non a forfanterie e vitii, e sono poco stimati, anzi aborriti e fugiti; e conforme al loro mal nascimento e peggiore educatione sono vitiosissimi e scandalosissimi e quasi tutti per l'ordinario tengono in casa donne infami pubblicamente, con haverne figlioli i quali han cura delle Chiese, co' scandalo di tutti i buoni."¹

The judgment is not impartial, for though we cannot rebut the charge of ignorance, encouraged perhaps by the government, who desired to keep the priesthood far apart from public life, still the Venetian clergy, considered not in the intimate details of their private life, which was frequently far from laudable, but in

¹ Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome, *Relatione del Stato, Costumi, Disordini et Remedii de Venetia*. MS. of the Seventeenth Century (Col. 39, B^a 7). It forms part of a Miscellany which bears this title: *Raccolta di varie scritture e maneggi fatti sull' affare dell' Interdetto di Paolo V, pubblicata contro la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia*.

their general position in the social structure, proved to be always docile if skilfully handled, modest and prudent, and devoted to all that made for peace and the public weal.

As regards civil and criminal law, the code published by the Doge Jacopo Tiepolo was constantly and carefully revised in the following centuries.¹ But in spite of codification the principle that custom served not merely to interpret or to complete the code but could even overrule it, always obtained in Venice. Daniele Manin was fully justified in declaring that a very imperfect and inexact conception of Venetian law would be formed by any one who confined his study to the code.² However it is certain that the Venetian code in its civil and commercial aspects presents a marked advance on the jurisprudence of other contemporary States. In short, both written and customary law were of a nature to satisfy the demands of a people jealously addicted to equity and whose motto was *pane in piazza e giustizia in Palazzo*. To grasp its importance it will suffice to compare some essential principles of Venetian law with modern Italian legislation.

As regards persons, legitimate children remained under the *patria potestas* until they had reached sixteen years of age, after which the father could emancipate them by a simple declaration before a notary. Illegitimate children could prosecute a search for paternity, availing themselves of *publica voce e fama* as irrefragable proof; a disposition which seems excessively benevolent, in view of the opinion of authorities on the right of illegitimates to establish their parentage before the law. The fact that illegitimacy was a bar to nobility,

¹ The law was the subject of constant attention on the part of the government and of eminent lawyers until, in 1678, the patrician Marino Angeli, after ten years of labour, drew up a scheme of titles under which the code could be classified.

² *Della Giurisprudenza Veneta* (in *Venezia e le sue lagune*, Vol. I, P. I, p. 291).

no desire to see morality inculcated by the stimulus of material interest, but any one who knows human nature cannot think it a superfluous check that those who are inclined to flout decorum should be compelled to respect it even by indirect pressure. Nowadays, when the principle of conciliation seems to have lost much of its force, we certainly cannot but approve the disposition of Venetian law, which in the case of family disputes appointed four arbitrators, called *confidenti*, whose finding, if unanimous, admitted of no appeal.¹ Remarkable, too, is the prohibition which forbade a son to sue his father unless three out of the four *confidenti* recognised that the son had a good case, which was then heard before fresh arbitrators.

On the laws affecting property we shall not enlarge, though here, too, viewed as a whole, Venetian legislation claims our admiration, in spite of details which to our modern ideas may seem vexatious, illiberal, and but little in harmony with the advanced views of the rest of the code; as, for example, the law which forbade a Venetian to acquire property or to invest money in a foreign State without the consent of the Senate; and the law which made it illegal for Jews to acquire real property in Venice beyond the possession of their dwelling-house (*gazagà*) for the time of their stay (*condotta*) in the city; and the law which forbade advances on pawn, except by the Jews in the Ghetto, and then only for a limited amount,—a prohibition which naturally opened the way to evasion of a statute which was economically unsound.

In matters of home trade we must note the Venetian companies legislation, intended to meet the difficulty of encouraging the employment of capital while at the same time preventing fraudulent associations which threw the liability on those least able to meet it. Trading associations in Venice were called *compagnie*, and

¹ This provision is dated May 26, 1555.

every company was bound to register itself before the office called *sopra banchi* (1524). The partners in the concern were, from the moment of their inscription in the list of the company, held liable *in solido* with whoever used the name of the firm. There were other associations in Venice, known as *colleganze* or *rogadie*, which are now called *accomandita*, or limited liability companies; legal liability being confined to the partners.

Procedure in the courts was almost identical with what is now known as summary procedure. The defendant appeared in court and put in his defence, at the next sitting the plaintiff, and so on until the case on both sides was closed, then both parties appeared before the court, the whole case was discussed, and sentence issued. Appeal lay either to the *auditore vecchio*, or *novo*, or *novissimo*, according to the nature of the suit. The court of appeal either upheld the judgment of the court below (*spazzo di laudo*), or quashed it (*spazzo di taglio*), or sent it before the Supreme Courts of Appeal (*intromessione*). The Supreme Courts were either the *Collegio di XII*, or the *Collegio di XX*, or the *Quarantia Civile Vecchia*, or the *Quarantia Civile Nuova*, and these pronounced either a *spazzo di taglio* or a *spazzo di laudo*. Appeals of high import were taken by one or other of the *Quarantie*. Before these courts both parties were usually represented by two counsel. In many cases there was a fifth counsel watching the case, called the *interruttore*, who, when the last of the four other counsel was addressing the court, had the right to intervene on a point of law or of fact and to rebut fresh arguments,—a very trying procedure for the counsel pleading, but just for that reason the ablest counsel always undertook to speak last, and made use of the interruptions to colour his address and to strengthen his case by his ability in meeting unforeseen objections. The time

chiefly with the public promulgation of the laws from the two *pietre del Bando*, one near the church of San Marco, the other in the vegetable market at Rialto.¹ The Fanti were police officers in the service of the Ten or of the Inquisitors. They were chosen from the people, men cast in the ancient mould, bred in severe principles and devoted to their traditions. They performed their duties with such rigid scrupulousness that in the whole course of Venetian history we have not a single case of a Fante found in fault. Their registers are rude notebooks, in which were entered agreements and contracts concluded between parties and known as *parole di volontà*. These contracts always bear the marks of the most scrupulous exactness and were invariably held in the highest respect. The test of centuries secured for the class of the Fanti an almost superstitious veneration from nobles and people alike.

The method of administering and applying justice was even more rigid and inflexible than the law itself in Venice. Even in the days of most frequent intrigue, strife, conspiracy, ambition, abuse, among the nobles, hardly ever was justice contaminated or injured. In aristocratic States, even in times of corruption, the noble caste, being placed in a secure and independent position, usually preserve the integrity of their administration, and their judgments are commonly inspired by rectitude unless indeed political passions intervene. In Venice, for example, in the course of civil suits judges were rigorously forbidden to receive visits from either of the parties to the cause, or recommendations from their friends; while in criminal suits both were permitted, provided the interests of the State were not

¹ One is a block of red Oriental granite brought as a trophy from Acre, and placed at the Angle of San Marco in 1256. The other is a low column with steps of white marble carried on a crouching figure, called the *Gobbo di Rialto*, carved in 1541 by Pietro di Salò, one of Sansovino's best pupils.



(A)



(B)

A—SENATORS— from a painting by Tintoretto,
at the Academy. B—The Lion's Mouth

involved, and this with the liberal intent to leave every way open in favour of the accused.

Inquisitorial procedure in Venice was as old as the Council of Ten. The general surveillance was entrusted to two Inquisitors, chosen every month; the special examination of accused persons to a *Giunta*, chosen at first from time to time, subsequently once a month. After 1539 the Ten appointed three of their number yearly, with the title of *Inquisitori contro i propalatori del segreto* and later of *Inquisitori di Stato*, to search for and punish traitors to the Republic. The Inquisitors never, as has been falsely alleged, tried prisoners summarily without formal procedure and on mere delation; they followed a regular procedure, heard witnesses and defence, and published their sentences in the Great Council. They never sat in a chamber of the Palace hung in black and dimly lighted by yellow candles, but in a simple, modest room, well lighted and subsequently adorned by Tintoretto's paintings of the theological virtues on the ceiling. Secret denunciations were slipped into the mouths of lions' heads placed in the streets of the city or near the residences of the various magistracies. But anonymous denunciations and *lettere senza sottoscrizione*¹ which did not cite at least two witnesses were burned, unless the Chiefs of the Ten and the Ducal Councillors declared by a majority of five-sixths that the accusation contained matter affecting the State. The evidence of spies was not accepted unless corroborated by honourable testimony.

Prisons for debtors and minor offences, called *casoni*,²

¹ Sanudo tells us that on October 15, 1507, an anonymous letter was found on the stairs of the Palace accusing three noble ladies, Lucia Soranzo, Marina Emo, and Andriana Cappello, of ruining their families by their illegal luxury. The letter was not read *publice per la leze non vuol si leza lettere senza sottoscrizione* (*Diari*, VII, 79).

² At Santi Apostoli there is still a *Campiello della Cason*, and a *Sottoportico del Cason* at San Giovanni in Bragora.

were to be found in various parts of the city. The State prisons were at the Terranova at Saint Mark's, close to the grain-stores, and also in the Ducal Palace. The prisons on the upper floor of the Palace were called *carceri superiori*, or *Torreselle*, "dove si meteva li homeni de Conto, retenuti per el conseio dei X"; they dated from the construction of the Palace.¹ The prisons called *inferiori* were built in 1321 and 1326. They ran along the quay, and bore the names of *Liona*, *Morosina*, *Mocenigo*, *Forte*, *Orba*, *Frescagioia*, *Vulcano*, and so on. Although called in decrees prisons *de subtus Palatium*,² they were not subterranean. When that part of the Palace which looks on to the Canal was reconstructed, about the middle of the sixteenth century, other prisons were built along the rio, not below the level of the water, nor even on the level of the water, but at the height of the pavement of the Palace entrance.³ On to a narrow corridor with three turnings there open the doors of nine cells; then, descending a stair of sixteen steps, we find another nine. These cells, called *camerotti* or *Pozzi*, must have all been of one size and shape, like those which still remain in fairly good preservation. They were vaulted, 2.45 metres high, 2.55 metres wide, 5.48 metres long. At the end was a wooden plank bed, 2.05 metres long, and 0.74 wide. The light was dim, but not so scanty as to leave the prisoner in thick darkness; the prisoner was probably allowed a lamp or a light, for on the walls, either scratched or drawn in pencil, we can still read inscriptions.

De chi me fido guardami Iddio
De chi no me fido me guarderò io,

writes one called Francesco, whose prudence here expressed in verse does not seem to have served him to

¹ Zanotto, *Pal. Duc.*, pag. 52, Tav. 41. Venezia, 1841.

² Arch. di Stato, M. C., t. VII, fol. 19 1^o.

³ Boni, *Le prig. dei Pozzi* (*Arch. Ven.*, T. XXV, p. 451).



THE POZZI

escape the arm of the Inquisitors. The long hours of confinement apparently taught wisdom, for another prisoner writes :

Non ti fidar d'alcuno pensa e tacci
 Se vitar vuoi de spioni insidia e lacci
 Il pentirti e agitarti nulla giova
 Ma ben del valor tuo la vera prova.

The prisoners in the *Pozzi* were in the dark and damp in the basements of the Palace ; the prisoners in the *Piombi*, on the contrary, lived high up under the roof. The *Piombi* were opened in 1591, and took their name from the lead covering of the roof. There were only four cells, one to the west looking into the Court and three to the east looking over the Canal. They were from 1.85 to 2.57 metres high, and varied between 2.78 and 3.85 in length. The walls were made of larch barks. In 1589 the Republic built the prisons on the other side of the rio della Paglia, from designs by Antonio da Ponte. The Police Magistrates, the *Signori di Notte al Criminale*, had their office there. These new prisons received many who would otherwise have gone to the *Pozzi*, which, however, were not entirely abandoned even in the last years of the Republic.¹ The Palace was joined to the Prisons by a clumsy bridge in the style of the Seicento, called by the suggestive name of Bridge of Sighs, over which the prisoners passed to their trial.

The prisons of Venice were not worse than the prisons of other countries at that time. Nor can they be justly described as horrible caves, a few hand-breadths wide, below the level of the water, where the prisoners were left to rot, buried alive and dying of hunger, anguish, and torment.² Nor were prisoners

¹ Fulin, *Studi nell' Arch. degli Inq. di Stato*, p. 70. Venezia, 1868.

² This is a subject which has been exaggerated, painted in sombre colours by writers either ignorant or intentionally malicious. It is not true, as is often affirmed, that no one ever left the *Pozzi* alive. In 1746, for example, the Greek priest, Pietro Gladovich, at the age of eighty, left the *Pozzi* in perfect health after forty years of close confinement. (*Arch. di*

worse treated than was customary at that time in other States.¹ Prisoners of war and State prisoners were kept apart from prisoners for theft, murder, or petty crimes;² and the Republic itself besought Pope Urban V. to grant indulgence to those who had given alms to prisoners. Prisoners were visited once a month by the Chiefs of the Ten; as a rule they were not chained; they were protected by the *avvocati dei carcerati*; if they fell ill, they were sent to hospital. They were allowed daily exercise in the corridors. In 1591 the Confraternity of the Crucifix was founded at San Bartolomeo, which collected alms to assist and to liberate prisoners;³ while, as early as 1411, there arose another Confraternity at San Fantin, under the title of *Santa Maria della Giustizia*, or *della Buona Morte*, with the pious object of comforting and accompanying to execution those condemned to death, and of giving their bodies decent sepulture.⁴

Stato, Inquisitori di Stato, *Lett. di Provv. in Dalmazia e Albania*, Busta 47, n. 277.)

¹ A German traveller of the Quattrocento, Fra Felice Faber of Ulm, in his book *Evagatorium Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti* (Stuttgartiae, 1849, the part that concerns Venice has been translated by Vincenzo Lazari, Venezia, 1881), makes the following comparison between the prisons of Venice and of Germany: "Non solum autem pietatem exhibent his qui digni sunt, sed et illis qui severae justitiae summas incurrunt. Carceres enim reorum sub deambulatorio palatii sunt contra publicam plateam respectum habentes, patentibus fenestris lucidi, quae ferreis cancellis sunt clausae, per quas captivi respicere possunt et manus extendere et cum astantibus colloquium habere et si sunt pauperes eleemosynam a transeuntibus petere possunt. . . . Verumtamen pro enormibus excessibus qui morte plectendi sunt, in carceribus detinentur arctioribus, tolerabilibus tamen. Inter multas crudelitates Teutonicorum est ista una, quod reorum carceres sunt inhumani, terribiles, obscuri, in profundis turrium, humidi, frigidi, et nonnunquam serpentibus et bufonibus plenis, longe ab hominibus sequestrati, nec aliquis accedit consolator ad miseros illos, nisi tortores crudelissimi qui terrent, minantur et torqueant. Aliam pietatem exhibunt Veneti reis, etiam morte plectendi, consumunt enim eos brevibus penis."

² Cecchetti, *Delle leggi della Rep. Ven. sulle carceri* (in the *Atti dell' Ateneo Ven.*, Ser. II, Vol. III, p. 95. Venezia, 1866).

³ Sagredo, *Patronato carcerati in Venezia*, etc. (in the *Memorie dell' I. R. Istituto Veneto di S. L. A.*, Vol. XII, 1861).

⁴ The Scuola di Santa Maria della Giustizia was fused with the Scuola di San Girolamo in 1458. It first of all had its meeting place in



THE BRIDGE OF SIGHS

Historical research has dissipated the fearful phantasms created by popular fancy and by a spirit of hatred against the oligarchy. The tales of innocent victims sacrificed to the dread power of the nobles are pure inventions. No doubt, since error is common to man, justice in Venice was not immune; but it is not true that in Venice more than elsewhere were the innocent put to death. The story of the *povaro Fornareto*, Pietro Fasiol, a young baker's boy who was unjustly condemned in 1507 on the charge of having murdered a noble, is pitiful, no doubt; but as we find no traces of the trial in the *Quarantia Criminale*, nor in the Diaries of Sanudo, who never omits the minutest details, we may conclude that the whole tale is a popular myth, as is the legend that before pronouncing sentence the court was reminded of the episode by the formula *recordeve del povaro Fornareto*. It is also said that the two lamps lit every day at Ave Maria before the image of the Madonna on the façade of San Marco that looks towards the Piazzetta, were lit in expiation of the unjust execution; as the money for maintaining these lamps came from a fund in the mint, it is more likely that they were placed there by some mariner as an *ex voto* for rescue from shipwreck.

But if Venetian justice was purer than elsewhere, it cannot be denied that it was remarkably severe, as indeed it was throughout Europe at that time when the criminal code was still barbarous. Besides imprisonment there were harsher punishments, such as the galleys and outlawry, with the right to kill the outlaw if he broke his bounds. Serious crimes of ecclesiastics were punished by the *cheba*, or cage of wood, hung half-way up the campanile of Saint Mark, in which the delinquent was exposed to the severity of the weather and the insults of the mob. This punishment

a house at San Fantin, which was afterwards rebuilt in the seventeenth century by Alessandro Vittoria and is now the seat of the Ateneo Veneto.

was abolished in the sixteenth century, but for assassination and theft there still remained the *berlina*, a stage erected between the two columns of the Piazzetta, on which the culprit was pilloried before the crowd with a list of his crimes pinned on his breast.

The harsh manners of the times induced a sort of equation between the enormity of the crime and the cruelty of its punishment, and at Venice we find torture, generally recognised as a necessary expedient in criminal procedure, flogging, branding, mutilation, blinding, asportation of the tongue, breaking on the wheel, and the punishment of death by decapitation, by hanging from the windows of the Palace or between the columns of the Piazzetta, or by strangulation in prison, or by drowning. Sometimes a pyre was raised, but never for religious or political crimes.

That grave crime merited severer punishment was a doctrine inherent in the spirit of the age and in public opinion. Marin Sanudo describes with horrible particulars the punishment inflicted on some young nobles in 1513. One of these, a Molin, was condemned to be felled by the hammer; he fell under the blow, and the executioner, thinking him dead, proceeded to hang another of the condemned. "Ma in questo mezo," says the diary, "ch'el apicoe questo, el Molin si voltoe, e non era morto et vardava apicar el compagno. E subito il boia venne zoso e li dete ancora di la manara et morite." Sanudo adds: "Et compita questa justitia, tutti li piaque."¹ That same year, 1513, a priest, Bortolo da Mortegliano, who had treacherously opened the gates of Marano in Friuli to the Imperialists, was condemned to death; the executioner felled him after several blows with a hatchet, and thinking him dead, proceeded to hang him on the gallows. "E legato si vete esso prete non esser ancor morto et moveva le gambe; unde tutti chi li era apresso comenzono a trarli

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, XVII, 42, 43.

saxi a la volta di la testa et di la persona, et cussì come li zonzeva, cussì esso monstrava resentirsi; pur tanto li fo trato che a la fin . . . morite; sicchè credo sentisse una crudel morte." And then our good Sanudo adds: "Et cussì finì la vita sua come el meritava."¹ Those who were guilty of atrocious crimes or sacrilegious theft were taken along the Grand Canal from San Marco to Santa Croce, stripped to the waist and tortured with red-hot pincers; from Santa Croce, after losing their right hand, they were dragged at a horse's tail for a bit, then were taken to the Piazza, where, between the two columns, they were decapitated and quartered.

But secret means occasionally adopted for the suppression of enemies must rouse in every honest mind far greater repugnance than any we can feel toward legal punishment, however terrible and cruel. The interests of the State were allowed to override all considerations of natural or moral obligation, and the government did not shrink from having recourse to the dagger or to poison employed by highly paid assassins. It would, however, be manifestly unjust to maintain that poisoning and assassination were the common practice of the Venetian government in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries;² such crimes but rarely stained the rulers of Venice; moreover they were common to the other States of Europe, nor did the most upright statesmen shrink from them if the welfare of their country was at stake. We may cite one significant instance. Sebastian Venier, admiral of the fleet, one

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, XVIII, 48.

² In 1893 Count Mas Latrie, renewing his attack, published in 1871 (*Bibl. de l'École de Chartes*, T. XXXII, pp. 340-378) and in 1881 (*Archiv. de l'Orient Latin*, T. I, pp. 653-662), read before the *Académie des Inscriptions et belles lettres* (T. XXIV) in Paris a paper on *L'empoisonnement politique dans la république de Venise*. Vladimir Lamansky has brought similar charges against Venice in a book entitled *Sécrets d'état de Venise* (Saint Petersburg, 1884).

of the noblest characters in history, found himself, in 1571, off Santa Maura with his squadron; he seized the Voivode of Dragomestre in Lividia, a hateful tyrant who seriously injured Venetian interests, and without more ado had him poisoned and thrown into the sea.¹ If men who in every other walk of life were upright and honourable held that any obstacle in the path of the nation's progress must be ruthlessly and remorselessly removed, it is clear that the State itself would certainly be guided solely by considerations of advantage, and would not shrink from treacherous and cruel violence in the interests of the country, especially at an epoch in which both poison and the dagger were weapons common to all races.

We are not concerned to excuse the errors of our fathers, as Fulin justly observes, but all the world knows that certain iniquitous expedients were not exclusively confined to the Republic, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.² Documents newly come to light prove that Francis I wished to assassinate Clement VII. The faults of others are no excuse for our own, but it is matter of common knowledge that a dreaded foe, if he could not be bought or crushed by arms, was exposed to hidden dangers in Venice as elsewhere. If the custom of the period excluded that sense of pity which ought to accompany chastisement, we must, however, insist that Venetian justice never wittingly struck down the innocent and never served private ends; nay, rather the rigidity of Venetian law affords an example which we may call unique rather than rare, and was no respecter of persons; powerful protection and illustrious lineage were alike impotent to alter its decrees. The case of Gaspare Valier is no isolated instance. In 1511 he was condemned to death

¹ Arch. di Stato, *Lett. del Cap. Gen. de Mar ai Capi dei X* (1500-1691) Busta 301.

² Fulin, *Errori vecchi e documenti nuovi*. Venezia, 1882.

for the murder of a custom-house officer at Treviso, who had denounced the patrician for contraband. His name, his noble blood, his youth, his beauty, roused the pity of the Venetians. The first to implore a pardon from the Ten was the patriarch Antonio Contarini, *et fo mandato via dicendo, la deliberation dil consejo di X si conveniva eseguir*; then many patricians spoke in vain in favour of the condemned man; finally, the three Avogadori, Giovanni Trevisan, Pierò Contarini, and Nicolò Dolfin, presented themselves and implored that the execution might at least be postponed. The stern judges replied thus to the tender-hearted Avogadori: *Non siete più degni di questo magistrato perhò levative suso — e cussi si levono tutti tre et andono a casa l'oro, et fo preso di privarli in perpetuo di avogadori . . . et vien dilo pocho mancoe non fossero confinati.*¹

Every Venetian, however noble, was obliged to bow before the rigour of the law, and the praise bestowed by a French poet, Audebert, is in no way exaggerated when he says:

Nobilibus, populoque humili favor omnibus idem:
Nil fumosa valent antiquae stemmata gentis;
Nil, nisi maiorem quod maior poena coercet.²

The government also understood quite clearly that arms no less than justice were to be reckoned among the fundamental bases of the State, and that freedom and independence are conditional on the proper disposition of the military power and on the formation of the army as an integral portion of the State; and as a fact, Venice alone preserved the prestige of Italian armies, fortifications, fleet. All through Venetian history we find the government augmenting the fleet which served to protect Venetian commerce and to

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, XII, 137, 186, 188.

² *Venetiae*, Lib. III.

defend Venetian maritime possessions, while forming a powerful bulwark against the insolence of Ottoman pride. Every attention was bestowed on the armament. In 1490 the office of *Sopraprovveditori all' Arsenale* was created, and in 1497 the *Provveditori ed esecutori delle cose marittime*, who shortly after took the title of *Provveditore all' armar*, and in 1545 the *Collegio alla milizia da mar*, in whose deliberations the *Provveditori all' armar*, two *Patroni all' Arsenale*, two *Provveditori ai biscotti*, and one *Provveditori all' Artiglieria* took part. The arsenal was enlarged in 1473 by the addition of the *arsenale novissimo*, in 1539 by the *riparto alle galeazze*, and in 1579 by the rope walk, or *Tana*, 316 metres 52 centimetres long.

The most arduous naval operations were undertaken by the Venetians. For example, in 1439 they actually had the courage to drag vessels of war across valleys and mountains and to launch them on the lake of Garda to fight the Visconti. The most perfect naval machinery known to those days was in use among them; for example, in 1498 a vessel sank near Cigalla, and the Genoese naval engineers proving incapable of recovering it, they called in a Venetian named Niccolò de le Taglie, who raised the vessel and brought her into port.¹ Every new invention was carefully fostered, and in 1529 the government granted the use of an enclosed building yard to Vettor Fausto for the construction of his famous quinquere.

In addition to the ordinary squadron and the galleys which, in case of war, many islands and cities of Dalmatia and the Levant were bound to furnish, a squadron of one hundred light galleys was always kept in readiness against a surprise attack. This reserve was under the supervision of the office of the *Milizia da mar*, whose duty it also was to enroll every two years all Venetian subjects fit for naval service from the age of

¹ Arch. di Stato, M. C., *Stella*, p. 153 1° (June 1, 1498).

eighteen and upwards.¹ The Dogado and Istria yielded a large number of seamen. In case of need the mainland could furnish twelve thousand oarsmen.² The command of the fleet lay with the *Provveditore generale da Mar*, who resided at Corfù, the *Provveditore d'armata*, the *Capitano Generale del Golfo*, the *Governatore dei condannati al remo*, the *Capitano*, the *Almirante*, and the *Patron* of the various ships, the *Sopracomiti*, and the *Nobili*, young patricians who, by a decree of the State, were bound to serve on board. In time of war a patrician was appointed to the supreme command. Lepanto, where many a noble sacrificed his life for his country and his faith, gave a brilliant proof that the Venetian patrician was ready at a moment's notice to abandon the pleasures of the city for the rude experiences of war.

The land forces received a like attention when Venice came to expand on the mainland. The Savio alla Scrittura, or Minister for War, was entrusted with the supervision of the army, which in the fifteenth century had a peace footing of ten thousand horse and seven thousand foot; in time of war it was raised to twenty thousand horse and an indefinite number of infantry.³ The general in command was never a Venetian — an arrangement dictated by political considerations — but by his side he always had two Senators as councillors, or rather as supervisors, known as *Provveditori generali dell'armata*. The Republic always had in its pay not only the most illustrious Italian commanders, but foreigners as well; for example, in the war of Chioggia, where we find the Englishman Gold distinguishing himself and receiving an annual pension of five hundred ducats. The Venetians were among the first to

¹ Tentori, *Saggio sulla st. di Ven.*, T. VIII, pp. 297 et seq. Venezia, 1787.

² Tentori, *op. cit.*, T. II, p. 256.

³ Celli, *Le ordinanze militari della Repubblica Veneta* (in the *Nuova Antologia*, series III, Vol. LIII).

arm their forces with muskets, to open shooting ranges, and to draw up regulations which, one may say, inaugurated the modern system of militia.

In fortification and in artillery Venice gave to Europe the earliest school of engineers and gunners in such masters as Michele Sammicheli and Nicolò Tartaglia. Venetian fortification, from Verona to Crete, offer the earliest examples of bulwarks and bastions; while the Brescian arms factory produced the finest guns in all Europe. When cannon came to be developed and began to win campaigns, artillery received great attention in Venice, and though even down to the sixteenth century bowmen, especially on horseback,¹ were still employed, gunners began to take their place. It was the flourishing guild of bombardiers who commissioned Palma Vecchio to paint that picture of their patroness, Santa Barbara, which is now one of the chief glories of Santa Maria Formosa.²

The cavalry arm was composed of *stradiotti*, bold Greek troops, raised mostly in Crete, lightly armed with shield, lance, and sword, and of Albanian or Slavonian horse, called *cappelletti*, from their head pieces, who were employed to garrison the more exposed places.

The *cernide*, or local militia, employed for skirmishing and sacking, were first raised in 1507, when

¹ "Ha abudo sempre et in qualunque tempo questo stado grande cura et diligentia de tenir in colmo, prima lo esercitio della Ballestra, subseguente dell' arco per el frequente uso de quello et per la habilità che se ha in adoperar quello." Arch. di Stato, Cons. X., August 13, 1506.

² The Guild of Bombardiers own houses at S. Francesco della Vigna. On October 31, 1500, they founded a Scuola, under the protection of Santa Barbara, in a building near Sant' Andrea, but on December 12, 1500, they moved to Santi Ermagora e Fortunato, where they hired a little house under the dwelling of the parish priest. In 1505 they moved again to Santa Maria Formosa, where the priest, Michele di Clementi, gave them *domunculam subtus domum suam, positam ad pedem planum, penes pontem lapideum*. This house, which is at the foot of the ponte delle Bande, was rebuilt in 1598. Bianchini, *La chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa*, p. 31. Venezia, 1892.

Lattanzio Bonghi, of Bergamo, was charged to muster six thousand infantry from among the peasantry. The new troops bravely defended Roveredo and Riva against Maximilian, and fought victoriously under Alviano in Cadore. The Senate then resolved to raise this militia to the strength of ten thousand men. The new levies quickly became expert in the use of arms, and vied in courage with the regular troops, the *provisionali*, while they surpassed them in discipline and were employed to garrison the city.¹ In time of war the land army was augmented by levies from all parts of Italy, by the loyal Dalmatians, or Slavs from Carnia, troops from the frontiers of Dalmatia, Montenegrins, Croats on horse, Morlachs, and Swiss. These mercenaries, raised by various officers, sometimes wore the colours of their captains; in 1509, from the villages of the Trevisan territory, *furono, cavati mille soldati vestiti di panno vermiglio e bianco, ch'era la livrea dell' Alviano*.²

The varying fortune of war never at any moment in her history shook the deliberate calm of the Venetian Senate; even in the dark days of the siege of Chioggia they found time to discuss the reform of the monetary system.³

In appearance we find nothing but the aristocracy, proud, strong, and overbearing, at the head of affairs, decreeing peace or war. But the lower orders did not languish; nay, they frequently acquired vast wealth, and were both content and obedient.⁴ The popular assembly, the *arengo*, was abolished in 1421; the name of the *popolo* disappeared from public acts in 1462,

¹ Celli, *op. cit.*

² Bonifacio, *Ist. di Trivigi*, pag. 492. Venezia, 1744.

³ Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Misti*, Reg. 36, fol. 74, from April 26, 1379, onwards.

⁴ In a very rare tract by Daniel Ritio, called the *Piasentino* printed in 1585, a copy of which is in the British Museum, we find the following popular saying:

Gentil huomini e ricchi sono
Venetiani popolo bono.

and the formula *Dominium* or *Signoria* was substituted for *Commune Venetiarum*; the *Libro d'oro*, created in 1506, gave sanction to the rights of the patrician caste, and rendered admission to the Great Council more and more difficult. But the aristocracy, though jealous of its privileges, did not suppress the development of the people, and we find examples of men of humble and obscure birth rapidly acquiring great riches. The case of Bartolomeo Bontempelli was by no means unique. He came from Brescia in the middle of the sixteenth century, and opened a mercer's shop at San Salvatore, at the sign of the Cup; he amassed a fortune, started a bank, and advanced loans to princes, dukes, and kings. Bontempelli built an altar in San Salvatore, restored at his own charges the church of the Convertite on the Giudecca, gave thirty thousand ducats towards the hospital of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti, and left by his will another hundred thousand ducats to the same object.

The wealth acquired by industry and commerce in Venice constitutes a title to fame; and she won for herself a high place in the economical as well as in the political history of nations. The people developed its vigorous life in the guilds of the arts and in the religious confraternities, and it was only the dregs of the population that were not enrolled in some one of these societies. Paupers were rare, and for these the government made wise provision, not by degrading charity, but by such regulations as the following; for example, that to those Venetians *i quali per l'etade non puossono più navegar* shall be conceded the right to sell provisions *per la sustentation de la so vecchiezza e dela soa povera famegia*, while the young shall go to sea *et despensar i so anni in mare, come ha fatto i so padri et progenitori*.¹ Beggar lads were sent as cabin boys on board the galleys or as apprentice hands

¹ Arch. di Stato, Cons. X, law of 1443.

to some master craftsman. The historian Doglioni remarks that "Poche città puono eguagliarsi alla città di Venetia nella pietà et nel mantenir con l'elemosine i poverelli et specialmente che si ritrovano ne' luoghi dedicati ad opere pie." There were the hospitals of the Pietà for foundlings, the Incurabili, San Giovanni e Paolo for less serious cases, San Pietro e Paolo for accidents, the Convertite for fallen women, the Zitelle for girls, the Soccorso for married women who wished to give themselves to religion, and so on. "Et tutti quanti li detti luoghi," says Doglioni, "sono con poca, o con nulla rendita d'entrate, d' beni; et con tutto ciò han d'avantaggio per sostentarsi ben commodi; et tutto viene, et a loro si somministra dalla carità de' Venetiani, i quali per l'amor di Christo si lievano ben spesso dalla bocca propria il pane, et il vino per soccorrere a tai bisognosi, con meraviglia d'ogn'uno."¹

The government, in 1474, founded a hospital at Castello, dedicated to Gesù as a thank offering for the relief of Scutari, and at Easter and Christmas made generous doles to the poor; it took care that the public granaries should always be full, and every year distributed two hundred sacks of flour and two hundred loads of wood to the hospital of the Pietà, besides obliging the arsenal to furnish a jar of wine monthly to that pious institution.² But on the whole charity was wisely left to individual enterprise and among the noble benefactors we may record the patrician Morosini, who, in 1498, built thirty-six houses at Santa Ternita for the use of indigent nobles,³ and the Jesuit Benedetto Palmio, who in 1558 founded a house at San Marziale for young girls in danger of going wrong. In 1535 Bartolomeo Nordio, a Bergamasque wood merchant,

¹ Doglioni, Gio. Nicolò, *Venetia trionfante et sempre libera*, pp. 27, 28. Venetia, 1613.

² Malipiero, *Annali Veneti* (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, T. VII, P. II, p. 685. Firenze, 1844).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 713.

founded the pious institution known as the *Fraterna*, to supply bread and money to decayed nobles and honest poor and to dower poor maidens. Gaetano Thiene of Vicenza (born 1480), venerated as a saint after his death, founded the hospital of the *Incurabili* in 1522.¹ This institution was entrusted to the Venetian Gerolamo Miani, who after a tempestuous youth passed in camps, gathered together in a house at San Basilio (1524) stray children, vagrants in the streets, and clothed, fed, and taught them a trade especially *di far brocchette di ferro* and *di far berrette*,² anticipating by three centuries the beneficent institutions called Kindergarten. Miani found further scope for his charitable impulses at the hospital for "Derelicts," founded in 1527 near the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo by Ser Bartolomeo di Marco, advocate, by Ser Alvise, mercer at the White Lion, by Ser Bartolomeo Boninparte, and by other benefactors, among whom we find the famous surgeon Gualtieri. After long proof of his charitable zeal in the hospital of the *Incurabili* (1531), Miani carried his pious fervour to other cities, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, Milan, Salò, and Somasca, from which place the order of the Somaschi, founded by him, took its name. He died at Somasca in 1537, and in 1747 was canonised by Benedict XIV.³

The entire energy of the Venetian people was directed to one common end, the well-being of their country; active and gay, worldly yet austere, a haven of refuge to learned and artisan alike. If the Venetian people, at that time in *Italia primario e potentissimo*,⁴ compared their laws with those of other countries, they might

¹ For venereal disease, at that time deemed incurable.

² Cicogna, *Iscriz.*, Vol. V, pp. 368, 369.

³ Two noble Spaniards visited Venice in 1537, Ignatius Loyola and Francesco Saverio. The spirit of charity in Venice caught fire from the example of these two, who laboured at their task of love in the hospital of the *Incurabili* on the Zattere.

⁴ Sanudo, *Vite dei Dogi*, ed. Monticolo.

justly hold themselves to be the best governed of States ; if they took into consideration the equity of their government and the gain to be derived from belonging to a powerful commonwealth, they must have been convinced that no other race enjoyed superior privileges.

CHAPTER III

THE CONDITIONS OF CLIMATE AND OF PUBLIC HEALTH—THE EMBELLISHMENT AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY—HORSES AND GONDOLAS

THE climate of Venice is no less singular than are its history and its customs. Aretino writes: "Dio vole che Venetia concorra d'eternità con quel mondo che si stupisce come la natura le habbia fatto luogo miracolosamente in un sito impossibile."¹ And in truth, amid the roar of the breakers on the deserted *lido* and the howl of the Adriatic storm, a mere handful of fisherfolk and traders laid the firm foundations of the future power and glory of the Republic. But these earliest inhabitants, who in the making of their country were forced to wrestle with and conquer the hostility of the soil and the enmity of man, did not find a foe in the climate, that most deadly adversary of all. Vitruvius praises the air between Ravenna and Aquileia as most salubrious, and it remained so during the early years of Venetian history. But the sea, which during the first centuries of the Christian era spread from Ravenna to Aquileia, gradually retreated, and owing to the silt brought down by the rivers, the land slowly encroached on the water. In the same way the rivers bringing down mud and sand into the lagoon imperceptibly changed its character, and began to create those marshy deposits which infected the air and filled it with noxious vapours and

¹ Aretino, *Lettere*, 1, p. 2. Paris, 1609.

with insects. This deleterious process was most obvious near the shores of the mainland, where along with the mud there flowed into the lagoons those runnels of fresh water from the fields, producing a mixture of fresh and salt water called in Venetian dialect *mestizza*, the cause of fever. Grado and Heraclea, which were built on firm soil, were gradually swamped and surrounded by pestiferous marsh lands. Jesolo was abandoned on account of the overflowing of the Piave and the Sile. Torcello and Mazzorbo began to be silted up as early as the thirteenth century, and in the Cinquecento were deserted by most of their inhabitants, the bishop taking up his residence in Murano. These towns, once prosperous and full of striking monuments, were gradually converted into unhealthy swamps, the wretched abode of fisherfolk and husbandmen. The silt brought down by the rivers or thrown up by the sea began to threaten the ports of Venice, and as early as the fourteenth century the Venetians initiated that salutary operation of diverting the rivers from the lagoon and surrounding the estuary with the great dyke, which was begun in 1610 and completed only during the last years of the Republic.¹

The injury to the lagoons caused by nature was increased by the greed of man. In order to enclose their fishing and hunting grounds they prevented the free circulation of the water by planting piles and wattle; this produced stagnation and the gradual raising of the lagoon bed. Cristoforo Sabbadino of Chioggia, the great hydraulic engineer, in a sonnet addressed to Venice, exclaims:

Li fiumi, il mare e gli uomini tu hai
Per inimici.

For the purpose of preserving the lagoon, regulating the course of rivers, and checking the injury wrought by man, a commission of three was appointed, in the

¹ Veronese, G., *La laguna di Ven.*, p. 7. Venezia, 1904.

year 1501, to supervise this whole subject. In 1505 the Water Board was created, and in 1542 an hydraulic engineer was nominated to watch over this most important matter. Giambattista Egnazio has condensed in the following inscription¹ the wise decree of the Board, whose object was to preserve intact the waters of the lagoon upon which depended at once the safety and the health of the city :

VENETORUM URBS DIVINA DISPONENTE
PROVIDENTIA, AQUIS FUNDATA, AQUARUM
AMBITU CIRCUMSEPTA, AQUIS PRO MURO
MUNITUR : QUISQUIS IGITUR QUOQUE MODO
DETRIMENTUM PUBLICIS AQUIS INFERRE
AUSUS FUERIT, ET HOSTIS PATRIAE
JUDICETUR : NEC MINORI PLECTATUR POENA
QUAM QUI SANCTOS MUROS PATRIAE VIOLASSET
HUIUS EDICTI JUS RATUM, PERPETUUMQ.
ESTO.

But seeing that a large part of the land round the estuary which had once been dry and under cultivation was now reduced to marshy swamp, and the city appeared to be girt by a wall of mephitic exhalations, it was not long before the idea that the city itself was unhealthy began to spread. As a matter of fact, however, both in Venice and the neighbouring islands the air remained quite pure. If the shoals of the estuary insufficiently covered by the high tide gave off malarious vapours which rendered the neighbouring lands uninhabitable, round about Venice itself the ebb and flow of the tide kept the water in constant movement and thoroughly scoured the city. And no sooner were the mudbanks laid bare than the inflowing tide came to cover them again, bringing with it healthy saline airs. The movement of the tide renewed every twenty-four hours destroyed all pestiferous vapours and

¹ The epigraph was carved in marble above the stalls of the members of the Water Board; it is now in the Museo Civico.

penetrated into the innermost canals of the city, which from time to time were cleared of mud. Such were the causes which contributed to make Venice healthy.¹

The climate of Venice is one of the mildest in North Italy; the Winter is temperate if compared with other cities on the mainland; the sky is usually clear and the rainfall is moderate. There is no dust in the streets, nor are they disturbed by the sound of carts and carriages. Strong winds are rare, and when they do blow the narrow streets afford a shelter against them.² Those streets obeyed the rule laid down by Palladio that the arteries of a town "non devono riguardare per linea retta ad alcun vento, acciochè per quello non si sentino i venti furiosi e violenti, ma con più sanità degli abitanti venghino rotti, scarsi, purgati e stanchi."

For all these reasons Venice is still one of the cities of Italy where the register of longevity is highest,³ and where there is no permanent and continuous sickness.⁴

¹ *Dell'aria et sue qualità*, a treatise by Filippo de Zorzi. Venezia, Rampazzetto, 1596. — *Venezia favorita da Dio*, etc., by Nicolò Albricio. Venezia, Tramontino, 1698.

² Namias, *Condizioni di Venezia riguardanti la vita e la salute dell'uomo* (in *Venezia e le sue lagune*, T. II, pp. 263 et seq.).

³ Lodovico Testi, the Modenese doctor, who came to Venice about the middle of the seventeenth century and there carried on his profession, wrote a book entitled *Disinganni ovvero ragioni fisiche fondate su l'autorità e esperienza, che provano l'aria di Venezia intieramente salubre* (Colonia, 1694). The pretext for this publication was a letter of Antonio Vallisnieri, in which the celebrated physician of Reggio states that there are in circulation *certi vani sospetti* about the healthiness of the Venetian atmosphere, *fondata in mezzo delle paludi*. Testi holds that no other city is as healthy as Venice, and to support his thesis he cites instances of longevity. In the parish of San Cassiano alone, where Testi lived, among a population of twenty-five hundred souls there were twenty-three hale and sound persons above the age of eighty; two had reached the age of ninety-five. Testi, however, leaves us sceptical or malicious when he asserts that an old man of eighty left his wife with child, and that another, who was left a widower at seventy-six, married a young wife and begat many children, one of whom reached eighty-one and another eighty-three.

⁴ A physician very famous in his day, Tomaso Rangone of Ravenna, who placed an effigy of himself in bronze by Jacopo Sansovino above the door of S. Giuliano, wrote a book called *De vita hominis ultra CXX annis protrahenda* (Venetiis, 1553). Rangone published some passages of his book in Italian; in these he treats *Della natura dell'aere, dell'acqua, dei cibi, delle*

If in the past the city was ravaged by frequent and terrible attacks of plague, that must be attributed to ignorance of the primary measures of precaution and of the laws of public health; while the constant connection with the East gave every opportunity for the attacks of the epidemic, which more than forty times devastated the city between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries. But although the rules of hygiene were unknown, the government never omitted to study the best methods for extinguishing the disease, and endeavoured to safeguard the public health by appointing sanitary officers and by passing wise laws. The three *Provveditori della salute della Terra*, appointed in 1348, were supplemented in 1468 by two inhabitants of each *sestiere*, while the whole Board of Health was reorganised in 1485. Moreover, as early as 1423 the Republic had converted the island of Santa Maria di Nazaret, with its church and hospital for pilgrims, into a lazaretto for infected persons and goods. The food, medicine, and medical attendance were supplied out of the salt revenue. This was the first institution of its kind in Europe, and it is the common opinion that the word lazaretto is derived from Nazaret. During the plague of 1576 another lazaretto was opened on the island of Sant' Erasmo.

In fact, Venice was never lacking in courage, forethought, and care, when attacked by the plague; and if errors were committed they are to be attributed to the prejudices of the people, always convinced that precautions were useless, and more inclined to put its faith in penance, fasting, and sackcloth than in sanitary

malattie, etc., in Venice. Among the many causes of sickness in Venice Rangone enumerates sexual excesses, gluttony, sedentary life, violent changes of temperature to which the patricians are especially exposed, for after sitting for long shut up in the chambers of the Ducal Palace, they come out into the open air, which is very chilly, and expose themselves to the winds in the piazza, at Rialto, in the canals, and in their gondolas, especially at night when they go out in search of pleasure.

regulations and medicine. The popular muse interpreted popular prejudices and sang :

Che miedeghi de Padoa
 Che cercar prime cause
 Che defensivi e pitime
 Che empiastri onguenti e pirole?
 Le xè cose superflue
 Che no relieva un pulese,
 Fazzasse penitentia
 Con dezuni e vegilie
 Con sachi e con cilicij. . . .
 Però chi rege e modera
 In temporal e in spirito
 Questa Cittade amplissima
 Senza rispetto minimo
 Indrizzi per giustitia
 Verso di Dio humilissima ;
 Ch'altra strada non vedessi,
 Ne altro rimedio salubre
 A placar l'ira accerima
 Del gran motor di seculi.¹

Sometimes the men of science themselves — the *miedeghi da Padoa* — contributed to the spread of the disease by denying the existence of contagion, as for example at the beginning of the plague of 1576 which was to sweep away fifty thousand persons, when the two Professors of Medicine at Padua, Girolamo Mercuriale and Giovanni Capodivacca, summoned by the Republic, gave it as their opinion that the disease was serious but not contagious.² On all occasions, however, the doctors proved loyal to their duties and courageously approached the beds of the sick ; we have an illustration in the case of the physician Pietro da Tossignano of Faenza, who, in the *Fasciculus medicus*, published in the vulgar tongue and with pictures in Venice in 1493,³ is represented visiting a plague patient.

¹ *Versi inediti sulla peste del 1575-1576*, pub. by A. Pilot. Venezia, 1903.

² The same happened in 1630, when thirty-six professors, among them the celebrated Santorio, declared that the disease was not the plague.

³ *Fasciculus medicus Ioannis de Ketam* printed at Venice under the following title: *Incomincia el dignissimo fasciculo de Medicina in volgare il quale*

Later on, without abandoning the care of the sick, the doctors adopted a curious device to avoid contagion; Grevenbroch has left us a sketch of this strange costume.

Medicine was an honourable profession,¹ and, considering the times, was well advanced, especially in the branch of anatomy, so much so that Alessandro Benedetti proposed to erect an anatomical theatre.² We have an indication of the height to which surgery was carried

tracta. . . . Qui finisce el fascicolo de Medicina vulgarizzato per Sebastianio Manilio Romano, E stampito per Zuane et Gregorio di Gregorii. Nel MCCCCLXXXIII adi. V. Febuario in Venexia. Nel fasc. II si legge: *Consilium clarissimi doctoris domini Petri de Tausignano pro peste evitanda*. The Duc de Rivoli (*Bibliographie des Livres a Figures Vénitiens*, p. 108. ed. Techener, Paris, MDCCCXCII): "grand bois de page: un homme nu, dans l'attitude dela souffrance, couché sur un lit élevé, le dos reposant sur un large coussin, le corps couvert jusqu'au buste, les bras nus hors des couvertures. Derrière le lit, trois femmes, l'une arrangeant le drap, l'autre portant un écuille, la troisième vue de profil. Devant le lit, le médecin tâtant le poulx du malade et aspirant une éponge qu'il tient à sa bouche; à gauche, un jeune cavalier, élégamment vêtu, tenant une longue torche; à droite un autre jeune homme, portant d'une main une torche, de l'autre un panier d'osier. A terre un chat. Le texte du verso nous apprend que cette planche représente un pestiféré soigné par Tausignano." Pietro da Tossignano, so called from his birthplace near Faenza, was summoned by Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, to read medicine in that city. He returned to Bologna, and died about 1400. Fantuzzi, *Scritt. bolognesi*, VIII, 110.

¹ Fioravanti (*Specchio di scientia*, p. 13. Venezia, MDCLXXIX) "oggi (i.e. 1571) in Venetia la Medicina è tanto florida et molto bene intesa . . . (Medici) in Venetia ve ne sono forse in maggior eccellenza, che mai sieno stati per l'adietro, tra quali ne sono alcuni, che se Galeno tornasse al mondo, non gli cederebbero nè di scientia, nè di pratica, come Decio Bello e bono Napolitano, Bonifacio, Montio da Urbino, Agofin Gadaldin da Modena, David Calonimos Hebreo, Giovanni Gratauolo il Comasco, et molti altri che i nomi loro non mi reccordo: quai tutti sono medici di tanta dottrina et esperienza, che il mondo si stupisce delle loro operazioni che fanno." Fioravanti also declares that surgery was far advanced. He mentions the Bellobuono, Neapolitan, Francesco d'Attimis, Angelo Rizzo, the barbers, Battista di Cesconi and Antonio Bezzuol of Brescia, tutti di tal valore chesi può quasi dire che risuscitano i morti.

² Benedetti's proposal was only carried out two centuries later, when Lorenzo Loredan left the necessary funds. The theatre and school was opened on February 11, 1671, in a house at San Giacomo dall'Orio; the neighbouring bridge, court, and portico still bear the name dell'Anatomia. Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, pag. 18. Venezia, 1887.

in the number and elegance of the instruments which have been preserved to us in drawings and show a perfect union of science and art. In the sixteenth century the College of Physicians was constituted, and from its members was chosen the Protomedico attached to the Board of Health and charged with the supervision of all food stuffs and the isolation of infectious cases. The College of Apothecaries was also under the care of the Protomedico; it was divided into pharmacists and druggists. In the sixteenth century we find upwards of one hundred pharmacists whose reputation was world-wide, especially for the preparation of *triaca*.¹

In the midst of incessant combat with nature, in a place so very different from all others, there sprang up a strong, tenacious, and vigorous people. The persistent will of man, stimulated by the struggle for existence, won its victory over the dangers and difficulties of the shifty soil, evaded the menace of malaria, met the lack of water by an ingenious system of filter reservoirs where the rain water was collected, saw to the cleanness of canals and streets, and even overcame the peculiarities of climate, which by its softness tended to enervate the character. The moral and physical

¹ At the sign of the Bear at Santa Maria Formosa *preciosi licori* for healing wounds were concocted. (Fioravanti, p. 19.) Besides this pharmacy which belonged to Messer Saba de' Franceschi, the following were also famous: the *Struzzo* in the Merceria, the *Carro* in the Frezzaria, the *Fenice* at San Luca, the *Dogaressa* at San Cassiano. Garzoni (*Piazza Universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, p. 665, Venetia, MDLXXII) also mentions other signs of apothecaries, for example the "three swords," the "three crowns," "the fir cone," "the angel," "the siren," "the lily," "the apple," "the sun." *Triaca* was much in use, and there was a brisk trade in it with the Levant. Distinguished makers were *Horatio Zattabella spezier all' insegna del Sant' Hieronimo in calle delle Acque in contrà de San Salvador*; Giovanni Battista di Rossi at the sign of the Basilisk *in contrà di San Piero di Castello*; and many others. The shops where *triaca* was especially made were called *triacanti*; the oldest was at the sign of the *Struzzo*. In the last days of the Republic the *Testa d'oro*, which still exists at Rialto, became famous for its *triaca*. Dian, *Cenni stor. sulla Farm. Ven.*, P. II (*La Triaca*), pp. 22, 23. Venezia, 1901.

qualities of a race are, in fact, modified by the air it breathes, and the history of a people is invariably moulded by its natural surroundings ; but Venice knew how to make its history on its own lines. In Venice the mildness of the climate, which encourages sensuality, the frequent sirocco, the moist airs, all contribute to make the blood run languid in the veins, and loosen the muscles and render them unfit for daily strenuous toil.¹ Even the external aspect of the Venetians does not denote a vigorous race ; the velvet quality and whiteness of the skin, the softness of the flesh, the roundness of the form both in men and women are remarkable.² But this lack of firmness in the body is, as frequently happens, accompanied by a remarkable mobility of nerves. As is natural, these physical conditions are reflected in the character, prone to apathy but easily moved by the passions and therefore quick to anger and quick to forgive, impulsive in adopting a line of action, but of little tenacity in following it.³ And yet by sheer strength of will the early Venetians succeeded in forming a character not at all in keeping with the softness of their native air, but eminently suited to the needs of their development, and, mid a perpetual struggle with the elements and in the din of arms and traffic and activity of all sorts, they evolved a physique hardy, active, capable of great fatigue, a spirit both bold and tenacious, and a mind receptive of clear and precise ideas. This fact explains the rapid degeneration of the Venetian race, especially of the patriciate ; for

¹ Andrea Calmo, *Lettere* (edit. Vitt. Rossi, p. 240. Torino, 1888), says : "A Venesia la humidit  de le aque fa vegnir tutti i vechi sbolsi." A modern writer, E. Perier (*Des stations m dicales dans les maladies des enfants*, p. 27, Paris, 1896), speaking of children, says : "pour des climats de chaleur  gale l'humidit  produit une atonie des voies digestives, une sorte de torpeur musculaire, une imperfection des d purations respiratoire et cutan e compens e par une augmentation de la s cretion urinaire. On a coutume de dire que les lieux bas et humides favorisent le lymphatisme, le rhumatisme, etc."

² Namias, *Condizioni di Venezia*, etc.

³ Ibid.

when effort ceased and ideals disappeared, the soft, delicious, enjoyable nature of their home asserted itself and produced a race with all the characteristics of its dwelling-place.

The fear lest the conditions of the climate should grow noxious as time went on did not prove strong enough to deter the Venetians from adorning their home. At one moment, perhaps, in days long gone, the drawbacks of their poor and narrow abode did weigh upon the minds of some. In 1204, when Venice had planted the standard of Saint Mark on the towers of Imperial Byzantium, a few ambitious spirits turned their thoughts to the enchanted shores of the Bosphorus. The nation had formed itself amid the hardships of the lagoons, in the splendour of the East it might now develop its full vigour, while the beauty and harmony of the ancient world might spring to life again at the invigorating touch of a youthful race who could wed robustness to the refinement of Byzantine civilisation. And tradition reports¹ that the Doge Pietro Ziani "considerando li grandi e mirabili progressi che se avevano fatto in levante, ge venne pensiero che se dovesse andar ad abitar in Constantinopoli, e in quella città fermar e stabilir il dominio dei Veneziani." Before the Council the Doge explained how Venice was ever subject to inundations, and when the sea withdrew the stench was insupportable. All the necessities of life had to be brought from outside; the lagoons yielded nothing but "cockles, crabs, and other unclean fish." On the other hand Constantinople was a city *dotado de tutte le grazie e i doni de Dio*. But utilitarian considerations were forced to yield to the poetic and sacred sentiment of patriotism, which warns even the most practical of peoples that a nation does not live by wealth alone, but by the spirit and the affections.

¹ Mentioned among others by the *Cronaca Savina*, Daniele Barbaro, and Fr. Corner in *Creta Sacra*.

Tradition has incarnated this religion of the fatherland in the figure of an old noble of great authority, Angelo Faliero, who, replying to the Doge, recalled to mind the fact that mid these poverty-stricken lagoons their fathers had died and were buried; that wives and children and all they held dearest found their home there. He argued that the very desolation of the site was the true cause of Venetian power, for owing to it they were driven *alla suprema principale industria*, navigation. Then, as an old chronicler relates, Falier "rivoltosi verso un'immagine di Gesù con molto patetica preghiera invocò il suo patrocinio e con le lagrime agli occhi smontò dalla bigoncia. Quindi ballottata la proposizione di un solo voto venne deciso, e fu il voto della Provvidenza di non fare la proposta emigrazione." Of all this the better authorities make no mention, and in all probability the whole story is a legend, which, however, serves to illustrate the fervid patriotism of the better spirits towards their fatherland, already made sacred to them by reason of so many struggles, sufferings, triumphs. This proposal to transplant the home of Venice to the shores of the Bosphorus must have seemed a crime in the eyes of posterity when the city was daily growing in beauty and in wealth.

The plan of Venice attributed to de' Barbari, the plans by Andrea Vavassore called Vadagnino, and that by Benedetto Bordone,¹ show us the aspect of the city at this period, an aspect which changed but little in the following centuries. What did change in obedience to the needs of man and the fluctuations of nature were the internal streets, which were enriched by new buildings calculated to rouse the utmost admiration in the foreigner. In 1480 a Frenchman, one of the many pilgrims who came to Venice to take ship for

¹ *Pianta* di Giovanni Andrea Vavassore dicto Vadagnino (about the beginning of 1500).—*Pianta* in the *Isolario* of Benedetto Bordone, Venezia, 1528,

the Holy Land, thus describes the city of the hundred isles: "Venise est une belle cité grande comme la moitié de Paris . . . Et est la ville plus peuplée qu'on puisse guères veoir . . . et il y a les plus belles bouticles de toutes marchandises qu'on puisse guères trouver . . . Saint Marc est la chapelle de la Seigneurie qui est la plus richement paincte que église du monde . . . Aux festes solemnelles, le grant autel est paré du trésor qui est une chose presque inestimable. . . . Après Saint Marc, les cordeliers (Frari) est la plus belle de toutes les aultres et y a les plus belles chaires faictes à troys rengées qu'on ne puisse pas trouver. . . . La grant place de la ville est nommée Realte. . . . Et en icelle place est la plupart des changeurs de Venise, et tout autour se vendent toutes aultres marchandises tant sur mer qui passe par la rue que sur ladicte place."¹

In 1495, when Philippe de Commines, ambassador of Charles VII, entered the Grand Canal and saw the palaces either painted by the great masters of the day, or gilded, or inlaid with precious marbles, he exclaimed as though entranced: "Les gallées passent à travers du Canal Grand et y ay veu navire de quatre cents tonneaux au plus près de maison; et est la plus belle rue que je croy qui soit en tout le monde, et la mieulx maisonnée, et va le long de la ville." Then after noting the older houses, large and tall, with painted façades, and the newer houses with fronts of white marble and porphyry and serpentine,² he exclaims: "C'est la plus triomphante cité que j'aye jamais veu et qui plus fait d'honneur à ambassadeurs et estrangiers, et qui plus

¹ *Le voyage de la sainte cité de Hierusalem fait l'an 1480*, published by M. Ch. Schefer (*Recueil de voyages et documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géogr. depuis le XIII jusqu'à la fin du XVI siècle*, T. II, 1882).

² The value of house property in Venice was estimated at 7,050,000 ducats, and half a million was paid in rent. Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, p. 30, says: "Atorno (il Canal Grande) da tutte do le bande, è case de patritii et altri, bellissime da ducati 20,000 in zoso."

soignement se gouberne, et où le service de Dieu est le plus sollempnellement fait."¹

Marcantonio Sabellico gives us a still more picturesque account; the pointed spires of the city and the cupolas of the churches stand out against the azure sky and the waters of the Grand Canal reflect the palaces; at Rialto the people throng the shops, the bankers sit under the porticoes, the warehouses display the precious stuffs of the East, and the exchanges are full of merchandise of priceless value.²

The Milanese Pietro Casola, in his *Viaggio a Gerusalemme*,³ has left us a lively description of Venice towards the close of the fifteenth century. Casola affirms "ch'el non è possibile dire nè scrivere pienamente la bellezza la magnificentia, nè la ricchezza de Venezia," and adds that he writes thus "non per captare de Veneziani benevolentia, ma per la veritate." The Milanese writer praises the cleanness of the streets, the grandeur of the buildings, among them the Palazzo ducale, the most beautiful palace in Italy, a marvel of marble and gold and carpeted chambers and painted walls with gorgeous hangings so that a man can never take his fill of looking. He then goes on to describe the squares, "longhe e spaziose," and the "moltitudine delle mercadantie," the countless warehouses and shops of the cloth merchants, silk-merciers, carpet-sellers, dealers in camlet. "Quanto a la abundantia de le victualie, per il mio testimonio dico che non credo sii in Italia la più abundante cittade." He is almost lost among the crowd of bakers, game and poultry dealers, fishmongers, and the profusion of wines, muscatels, Greek, Malmsey, and so on. During his sojourn in Venice Casola visited numerous

¹ Philippe de Comynes, *Mémoires*, Lib. VII, cap. 18. Paris, 1881.

² Sabellici, *De situ urbis Venetiae* (in *Thes. Antiquit. et Histor. Italiae*, V, pt. I, p. 2. Lugduni Bat. MDCCXXII).

³ Pietro Casola, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme* (from the autograph in the Biblioteca Trivulziana), pp. 6 et seq. Milano, 1855.

churches and monasteries, and after seeing Sant' Elena of the Camaldolesi and Sant' Antonio of the Olivetani, San Cristoforo of the Eremitani and San Giorgio Maggiore and Sant' Andrea, San Francesco della Vigna, Santa Maria dei Servi, the Carità, and so on, after admiring the churches of San Pietro, San Marco, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, he concludes that not even in Rome did he find so many beautiful churches. But when he comes to the glass works at Murano, Casola's admiration knows no bounds, and the arsenal seems to him to contain all *la munitione del mondo per armare galee*.

An anonymous Greek poet writing towards the close of the fifteenth century exclaims: "Nessuna terra si trova che rassomigli a Venezia; . . . la sua piazza mi ha abbagliato."¹ A German traveller, Felix Faber of Ulm (1484), shows the same enthusiastic amazement; he declares that Venice was the most beautiful of all the cities he had visited in Christendom or out of it; his wonder ties his tongue, and he can find no words worthy to describe the Doges' Palace and the basilica of San Marco, *la plus riche église que je veis oncques* — to quote Georges Languerant of Mons, a pious pilgrim who was on his way to Jerusalem in 1485.² The streets were crowded with folk either bargaining in the markets, or going backwards and forwards to the ships, or working in the shops. "Nel mercato di San Marco vedesi tal quantità di legumi e d'insalate, che fa meravigliare dove tanta ne nasca e chi la consumi, e dicasi lo stesso de' pesci, degli uccelli, delle carni, della frutta." The patricians of venerable mien walk about in their gorgeous robes like so many bishops. Great care is bestowed on education; the government permits no insolences; in the arsenal the colossal character of the

¹ Levi Lionello, *Un carne greco medievale in lode di Venezia*. Venezia, 1902.

² Didron, *Iconogr. du Palais Ducal* (Ann. Archéol., 1857).

work is matched by the rapidity of execution; everywhere are to be seen activity and prosperity. "Mirum est videre," says Friar Faber in his rude Latin, "multitudinem navium onerarium continue intrantium et exeuntium."¹

In 1497 another German pilgrim, the Ritter Arnold von Harff, came to Venice and took up his abode in the German Exchange. He thus describes Rialto, where "per i magazzeni pieni di generi preziosissimi e rarissimi si può dire trovati il tesoro di Venezia"; then passing through the narrow streets, with apothecaries, booksellers, etc., on either side, he reaches the church of San Marco, *splendidissima* he calls it, in front of which opens out the magnificent piazza, and the Campanile rises *quadro e altissimo*. The tower may be climbed by an inclined plane on horseback up to the very top; the Emperor Frederick III did so in 1452.² The Palace of the Doges strikes the German traveller as *bellissimo*, but it roused a more enthusiastic admiration in the breast of Anne de Foix, who saw it in 1502; "Le palais de Saint Marc," she says, "qui est l'un des sumptueux edifices que je veiz jamais. . . . La grant salle du dict palays est la plus grante et la mieulx enrichie d'or et d'azur que je veiz jamais."³

In the middle of the sixteenth century Venice aroused even greater enthusiasm in her many visitors, among whom we may mention the Frenchman Germain d'Audebert, who in a Latin poem describes the origin of the city, her story, the deeds of the Doges and patricians, her naval greatness, her laws, functions, sumptuous monuments, and who remains wonder-struck before the piazza of San Marco with its

¹ Faber Frater Felix, *Evagatorium*, loc. cit.

² *Viaggio in Italia nel MDXCVII del Cav. Arnolfo di Harff di Colonia sul Reno*, trad. by Alfred von Reumont (in the *Arch. Veneto*, T. XI, p. 394).

³ *Discours sur le voyage d'Anne de Foix dans la Seigneurie de Venise* (Bib. de l'École de Chartes, pag. 150. Paris, 1801).

**Paesi nouamente ritrouati per
la Navigatione di Spagna in Calicut. Et da Alber-
tutio Vesputio Florentino intitulato Mon-
do Notto : Nouamente impressa.**



THE Piazza di S. Marco (1500) — from "Paesi Novamente Ritrovati" printed at Venice in 1517 by Zorzi de Rusconi

surrounding palaces, its immense tower, the church *parium structo de marmore*, and the arsenal, in comparison with which the seven wonders of the world must pale.¹

The piazza and piazzetta of San Marco, *per sito et qualità et più belo spectaculo* of Venice, claimed all the attention of the government, whose desire was to render them ever more and more magnificent. The Ducal Palace, injured by a fire which broke out in September 14, 1483, was rapidly restored and adorned with two noble façades on the courtyard and on the Canal, the work of the Veronese Antonio Rizzo, assisted by Bregno, Scarpagnino, and the Bergamasque Bartolomeo Buono (d. 1529), who is frequently confused with his predecessor of the same name, a Venetian who in 1443 undertook the Porta della Carta. In 1577 another fire seriously injured the noble pile, but it was soon restored to its pristine glory.

In 1493 Gian Paolo Rainieri and his son Giancarlo of Reggio, who in 1481 had embellished their native city with a great clock and wooden automaton figures, were commissioned to execute a similar work for Venice. This clock, besides marking the hours, the zodiacal signs, the phases of the moon, the month and day of the year, has an ingenious piece of mechanism by which, on certain festivals, the figures of the Magi, preceded by an angel with a trumpet, are made to issue from the clock and pass before the Madonna, to whom they bow. In 1496 Mauro Coducci of Bergamo built the tower² to receive this clock, and between 1496 and 1517 Bartolomeo Buono and Guglielmo Grigi of Bergamo joined to the tower the elegant façade of the Procuratie Vecchie. The tower was crowned with a

¹ Germani Audeberti, *Venetiae*, op. cit., Lib. II.

² "È stà dâ principio sto mese de Zugno (1496) a far le fondamente del Relogio in piazza de S. Marco sora la Marzeria e costerà attorno 6,000 ducati." Malipiero, *Ann.*, cit., P. II, p. 699.

platform upon which rises a bell ; two bronze figures, called *i Mori*, strike the hours with great hammers.

At the opening of the Cinquecento the piazza, though it had been paved with brick as early as 1495, was still in part occupied by vines and trees with here and there a stone-cutter's yard, and also, *quod peius est*, there was a latrine, where everybody went *licentiosamente a far sporcizie et deposito de scouace*. This scandal was not to be endured, and Master Giorgio Spavento was charged to clear the piazza of shops, vines and trees, and latrines, so as to remove all impediment in the way of spectacles, festivals, and tourneys.¹ A year later, on July 11, 1505, the standards of San Marco, which on solemn occasions used to fly from wooden flagstaffs called *abbati*, were unfurled for the first time from the three bronze pedestals, modelled by Alessandro Leopardi and now placed in front of the Basilica. The standards were painted by Lazzaro Sebastiani and Benedetto Diana, who, in addition to their pay of 630 ducats, received "el cendado cuxido per dicti tre stendardi, cadaun de i qual habia ad esser de longeza braza diexeocto et largo tele tredexe."²

Jacopo Tatti, called Sansovino, built the church of San Geminiano facing the basilica, and raised on the piazzetta, on the site of the bakery, the Library and that severe building the Mint, at the spot where the flesh and the fish markets used to stand. The bakers were accommodated in shops at the foot of the Campanile, and after a fire in 1574 a new bakery was built at the Ponte della Pescheria near the Rio della Zecca. Under the Doge Girolamo Priuli (1559-1567) the piazza was again paved, and on September 22, 1569, the Senate ordered the removal of all the shops of notaries, dentists, barbers, etc., which clung round the columns of the Ducal Palace, and all the benches, boxes, chests, cases

¹ Arch. di Stato, Senato, Terra, Reg. 15, fol. 2. March 14, 1504.

² Ibid., Collegio, Notatorio, 23, fol. 149.



BELFRY OF THE CAMPANILE OF S. MARCO (1510)

which encumbered the colonnade of the Palace itself.¹ But the piazzetta towards the quays was still in part occupied by the flesh-market, which disfigured the noble site with its refuse. Finally, on September 17, 1580, the market was removed to the building where the Hostelry of the Lion stood at Santa Maria in Broglio, near the Ascensione.

In 1582 the hospital of San Marco, which was founded in 977 by Pietro Orseolo,² and stood in the same line as the Campanile, was pulled down in order to build the Procuratie Nuove, designed by Vincenzo Scamozzi. The Campanile then stood out in all its massive splendour, and in 1510 its bell chamber was remodelled by Bartolomeo Buono, who added the attic and the pinnacle, surmounted in 1517 by a wooden angel covered with gilded copper plates, which served as a weathercock. The superb tower, 98.6 metres high, was frequently injured by earthquake and fire and underwent many restorations, notably that by Sansovino in 1548.

From this tower Galileo, in 1609, before attempting the conquest of the skies, showed to the rulers of Venice the wonders of the telescope: "che erà di banda, foderata al di fuori di rossa gottonada cremesina, di lunghezza tre quarte $\frac{1}{2}$ incirca, et larghezza di un scudo; con due vetri, uno cava l'altro no, per parte: con il quale, posto a un ochio e serando l'altro . . . si vide distintamente, oltre Liza Fusina e Marghera, anco Chioza, Treviso, et sino Conegliano, et il Campaniel et Cubbe con la facciata della chiesa de Santa Giustina de Padova: si discernivano quelli che entravano ed uscivano di chiesa di San Giacomo di Muran, si vedevano le persone a montar e dismontar de gondole al traghetto alla Colonna nel principio del

¹ Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire alla St. del Pal. Duc.*, P. I, p. 361.

² The hospital was transferred to the Campo Rusolo (a corruption of Orseolo), now Campo San Gallo.

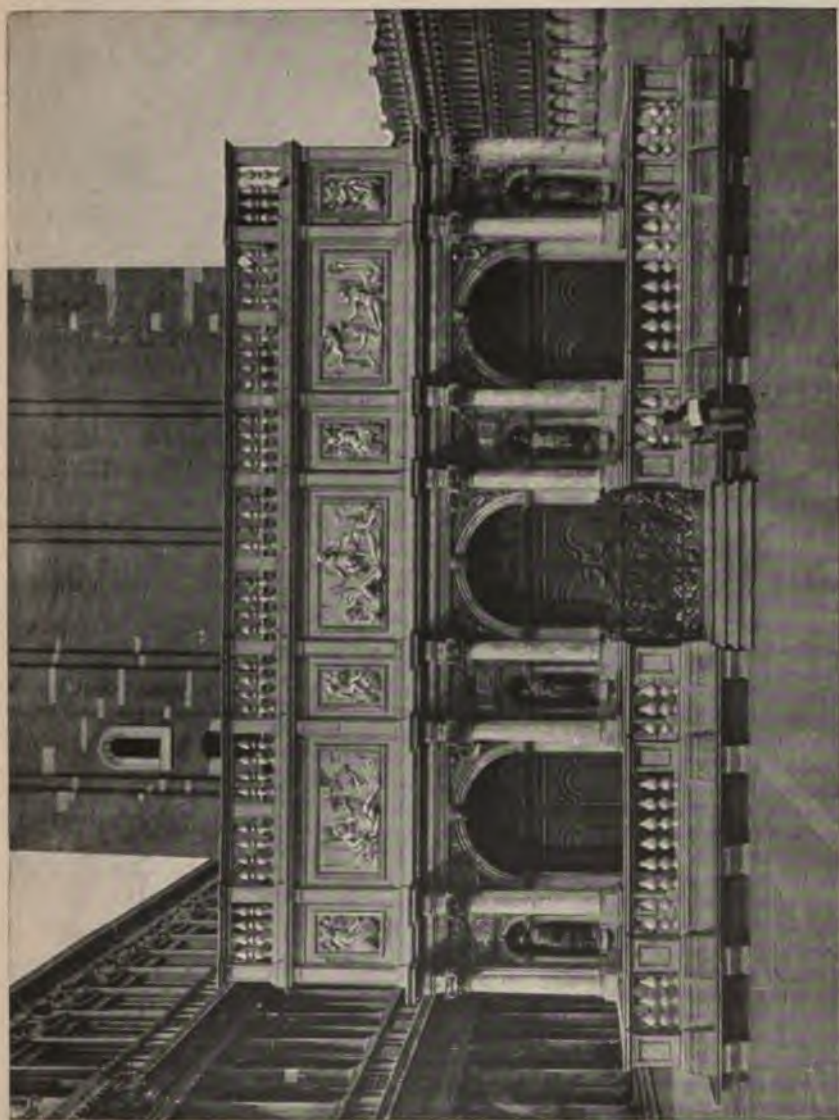
Rio de' Verieri, con molti altri particolari, nella laguna e nella città veramente amirabili."¹

In 1902 the Campanile by its fall overwhelmed the graceful Loggetta, designed by Sansovino in 1540. The Loggetta was a building of unparalleled beauty; in front was a little platform closed by a marble balustrade; the rose-red façade had eight columns of composite order, and in the intermediate niches, four bronze statues modelled and cast by Sansovino himself. The Loggetta was originally a meeting-place for the patricians, but in 1569 it was assigned as the post for the Procurator of San Marco, whose turn it was to command the guard on duty at the Palace during the sittings of the Maggior Consiglio.

Passing from the piazza by the street called the Merceria, which had *da ogni banda botteghe* where *tutte cosse che si sa et si vol dimandarvi si trova*,² one reached Rialto, the business centre, the emporium of commerce, the meeting-place of shopkeepers and traders. Rialto too shared in the general improvement. Hard by the great wooden bridge, rebuilt in stone in 1591 by Antonio da Ponte, — and not, as some would have it, by Giovanni Alvise Boldù, — there rose the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (1505) with its façades painted by Giorgione and by Titian, the graceful Palazzo dei Camerlenghi (1488-1525), the Fabbriche Vecchie of Scarpagnino (1520-1522) and the Fabbriche Nuove of Sansovino (1552-1555). The people swarmed under the porticoes of the market; along the *fondamente*, by the buildings of Scarpagnino, among the benches of the fish-market and the baskets and chests of the fruit-sellers, while the boats came up to the landings, laden with vegetables from the islands and the mainland, the native dialect

¹ From the *Cronachette* of Antonio Priuli, quoted by Favaro in his *Galileo e la presentazione del cannocchiale alla Repubblica Veneta*, pp. 14-16. Venezia, 1891.

² Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, cit., p. 39.



THE LOGGETTA OF SANSOVINO (c. 1540)

Photo by Filippi

flourished in all its freshness and wit. It was to enjoy such a spectacle as this that one bright spring morning, while the quails were piping,¹ Messer Pietro Aretino, whose descriptions never lack the picturesque touch, approached the window of his house just opposite the vegetable market.² "Le piazze," he writes to Bollani, "del mio occhio diritto sono le beccarie e la pescaria; e il campo del mancino, il ponte e il fondaco dei Tedeschi; a l'incontro di tutti due ho il Rialto calcato di huomini da faccende. Sonvi le vigne ne i burchi, le caccie e l'uccellagioni nelle botteghe, gli orti nello spazzo, nè mi curo di veder rivi, che irrighino prati, quando a l'alba miro l'acqua coperta d'ogni ragion di cosa, che si trova nelle sue stagioni."³

Every road, every distant angle of the town, all the calles and all the *campi*⁴ were alive with pulsing life, elegant and magnificent, voluptuous and strong, a display of splendour made to dazzle the senses. In the port and on the lagoon proudly floated the swift galleys with their great lanterns, while gondolas and serenades lent an air of gentle mystery to the city.

At this very heyday of the Renaissance the city of Venice made rapid progress towards the completion of its singular character under the magic of an art

¹ "Questi goffi uccelli sono apprezzati in Venezia alla primavera; sì per udirli cantare e far risonare quei canali con spezzarsi a gara il petto, come anco, perchè sentendoli tutta la mattina inducono soave sonno." So says Gallo in his *Le tredici giornate della vera agricoltura et dei piaceri della villa*, p. 282. Venezia, MDLXVI. Aretino one morning, on hearing a number of quails on the Grand Canal, improvised the following verses:

"O ben avventurati voi quagliotti,
Poichè sete da noi non men pregiati,
Che i belli et eccellenti pappagalli."

² The house belonged to the noble Domenico Bollani, in the parish of the SS. Apostoli, and probably was the one at the angle of the Rio di San Giovanni Grisostomo. See Tassini, *Delle Abitazioni di P. A.* (Arch. Ven., T. XXXI, p. 205).

³ Aretino, *Lettere*, cit., I, 169.

⁴ In the Uffizi is a drawing by Mansueti erroneously given to Gentile Bellini, showing us the Campo di San Lio just as it is to-day.

which was diffused over its buildings and reflected in its waters. The open ground of the islands, with the green trees, the animals which served for tillage, for transport, or for haulage, was gradually transformed into an architectural panorama of marble vistas without apparent foundation, a city without suburbs, without a setting of fields or hill-slopes, with no other visible basis than its own reflection thrown up from the water. The paving of the streets and the building of stone bridges proceeded rapidly, and necessarily curtailed the employment of horses. Thus it came about that in Venetian pomp and display the most beautiful of all animals, one which usually plays so large a part in the life of splendour and of pleasure, was almost wholly wanting. Nevertheless during the sixteenth century horses were to be seen in the city, and when, in April, 1509, the Venetian army was preparing to take the field against the allies of Cambray, a levy of horses *apti a tirar artiglieria* was ordered not only in the towns of the mainland but also in *questa nostra Città di Venezia*.¹

More curious still is the following notice which we gather from the Acts of the Giudici dell' Esaminador under date October 14, 1544: "Testimonii esaminati, a richiesta di Bartolommeo Malacrea, dai giudici dell' Esaminador sulla qualità di un cavallo che trovavasi in una stalla a Santa Maria Formosa e che di là passò in una stalla a Santo Stefano e che nel passaggio da una all'altra stalla fu cavalcato dal suo padrone che ci deva delli spironi et baston."² The Venetian horseman who had to use whip and spur to his beast to bring him from Santa Maria Formosa to Santo Stefano reminds us of those luckless cavaliers of the lagoon who furnished so ready a butt for the wits of the Cinquecento. Baldassare Castiglione, the master of refined elegance, wishing to indicate a poor horseman,

¹ Arch. di Stato, Senato, Terra, Reg. 16, fol. 98 r°.

² Ibid., Giudici dell' Esaminador, Esami, Reg. 29, fol. 112 r°.

says he rode *alla veneziana*; and Andrea Calmo with his mordant wit tells us that when a Venetian got to the mainland he would do his very best on horseback *de tegnir le ponte d'i piè drio la testiera*, in order to appear *un puoco istruiti in l'arte di cavalcaori*,¹ though he never could succeed in taking any one in. Poggio, too, has a story of a Venetian who before mounting removed his spurs and put them in his pocket; and when his beast refused to go beyond a walk he gave it his heels, exclaiming, "If only you knew what I've got in my pocket you 'ld soon change your pace." Bibbiena, Ariosto, and Aretino all cut jokes at the expense of Venetian horsemanship, and Henri Estienne tells us the story of a Venetian who was trying to mount a horse that jibbed; after a bit he pulled out his handkerchief and held it up to the wind, and on seeing which way it blew he remarked that the horse was not at fault, for he had a head wind; "*Ce venitien pensoit estre in gondola et songoit à Sta-li et à Premi.*"²

From this time onward, in fact, the gondola came into more frequent use and became the characteristic vehicle of Venice. Some derive the name from the Greek *kondy*, some from the Latin *cymbula* (a small boat); *u* and *y* being equivalents of *c* and *g*, which are interchangeable in Venetian, would give the word *gundula*. The origin of the build is certainly antique, for we find mention of it in a diploma of the Doge Vitale Falier, dated 1094, by which the people of Loreo are dispensed from the obligation to furnish gondolas to the Doge: *gondulam vero nullam nobis, nisi libera vestra voluntate facturi estis*.³ In the thirteenth century the gondola was a boat with twelve oars and apparently

¹ Calmo, *Lettere*, cit., p. 13.

² Estienne Henri, *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé et autrement desquizé, principalement entre les courtisans de ce temps*, edit. Ristelhuber, Paris, 1885. The first edition appeared in 1578.

³ Orlandini, Giov., *La Gondola*, a publication per nozze, p. 8. Venezia, 1903.



Phaenias on the Gondola, by Tintoretto.
(Gallery of Dresden)

had an iron beak. It was not till the close of the fifteenth and the opening of the sixteenth century that the gondola received its coverings of coloured and embroidered cloth, the cushioned seat supported on curved legs and two little beaks (*ferri*) at bow and stern, called *dolfini* from their resemblance to those animals. Towards the close of the sixteenth century there were ten thousand gondolas in Venice; their prows were gilded, and they had little cabins (*felzi*) and cushioned seats of satin or silk, either green or purple, adorned with lace and embroidery, and *ferri* wrought into fantastic shapes, with graceful bosses, knobs, and flowers. But in 1562 the Senate prohibited *li felzi da barca di seda et di panno*, and all gilded, painted, or carved ornament; and in 1584 the Provveditori alle Pompe decreed that *niun barcarol ardischa vogar* profusely ornamented gondolas under pain of *pregion, gallea et altro*.⁶ These boats *impegolate et di belle forme vogate da neri saraceni o vero altri famegij*, cost about fifteen ducats, that is, more than a horse, and there was not a noble or citizen who did not keep one or two or more at his disposal. No other boat could be better adapted to the network of canals, none more suited to secret assignations, none lent itself better to the fancy of poet and of painter, from Carpaccio, who gives us a veracious portrait of the gondola, to Tintoret, who made it the subject of one of his strangest, most fascinating and voluptuous phantasies.

¹ Orlandini, loc. cit.



Phaetusa on the Gondola, by Tintoretto,
(Gallery of Dresden)

CHAPTER IV

FESTIVALS AND SOLEMN RECEPTIONS — THE CARNIVAL — POPULAR FÊTES — HOSTEL- RIES AND TAVERNS

IN Venice of the sixteenth century luxury and splendour surpassed all bounds ; never before at any time nor in any city were religious ceremonies, victories, the conclusion of peace, the visits of foreigners, or the marriages of illustrious personages, celebrated with greater pomp and magnificence.

In the Middle Ages religious and civil functions were united in helping to commemorate the national glories, and were frequently accompanied by naval and military displays and by gymnastic games, which served to develop the physical powers of the nation and to strengthen the arm of the soldier and of the oarsman. But the taste of the new era called for other spectacles. The violence of martial exercises was abandoned ; tourneys, in which the champions wielded battleaxe and sword and levelled the lance, gave place to serenades and picturesque regattas. The jousts on the piazza were gradually converted into feats of grace and skill, where the horseman, instead of fighting, splitting helmets, or ripping coats of mail, devoted his whole attention to making his steed amble or gallop, to changing hands in the volt, to volting at the trot, and to double volts, using his legs to produce the bound and the caracole.

The fifteenth century before its close saw two great displays of martial skill. In 1485, under the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo, the three sons of the General,

Roberto Sanseverino, the Rossi of Parma, Tuzio Costanzo, and other nobles joined in combat on the piazza; and in 1491, when Caterina Cornaro abdicated the crown of Cyprus and was received by Venice with all magnificence, some dashing Stradiotti, troops from the island of Crete, held a joust on the Grand Canal, which happened to be frozen across.¹

But the games which belonged to the earlier and ruder times of the Republic gradually disappeared, and in 1520, on the festival of Maundy Thursday — instituted to commemorate the victory over the Patriarch of Aquileia — the ancient custom of cutting off the bull's head was retained, it is true, but the popular rejoicings were abandoned *perchè non è decoro della Signoria nostra*, so ran the decree.² All the same the desire to lend splendour and solemnity to national festivals by coupling them with functions of the Church still prevailed.

At this period in the history of Venice it would almost seem as though the native practical spirit of the Venetians had changed its direction and had burst out in a delirium of enthusiasm, wherein the city appeared like a queen in her triumph, surrounded by the very acme of sumptuous splendour. The phrases of contemporaries convey to us as it were a faint echo of those matchless spectacles. The Milanese Pietro Casola, who was present at the procession of the Corpus Domini in 1494, finds no words to describe the nobles all robed in cloth of gold and velvet, the richness of the hangings, the profusion of flowers, the number of candles, the play of colour. Marin Sanudo records the solemn procession and festival at San Marco, in 1513, in honour of the league against France, and dwells on the façade of the basilica hung with standards and cloth of gold, — *che pareva molto bon*, — the interior of

¹ Bembo, *Ist. viniziana*, Lib. I. Vinegia, MDCCXC.

² Arch. di Stato, Misti, *Dieci*, Reg. 43, March 7, 1520.

the church magnificently decorated, and the statues of the Apostles on the architrave draped in gold and silk.¹ Preceded by the *trombe di bataia* and by pipes, the Doge, ambassadors, nobles, robed in gold, in crimson damask, purple velvet, and scarlet silk, descended from the Palace into the church, *che fo bellissima cossa*. After the religious ceremony the procession of the arts and crafts took place upon the piazza; the members carried torches and vases, and tabernacles of gold and silver; then came the clergy in their vestments; and then the friars bearing images of Venice and of the King of France. In the midst of these solemnities we find, as a curious contrast, a certain comic note is introduced; for example, there was a caricature of General Alviano on horseback and four children on a platform, *i qual fengevano de pisar e veniva acqua rosa fuora*.

On receipt of the news that the Turks had been defeated at Lepanto (1571), Venice broke out into music, and dancing and rejoicings of all sorts, and while in the church of Saint Mark the government were offering up thanksgiving, the exchanges of the various nations were illuminated, and the porticoes of Rialto, where were the drapers' shops, were hung with cloth of gold, turquoise, and scarlet, with trophies of Turkish arms, and with pictures by Giambellino, Giorgione, Titian, Michelangelo, and Pordenone. A great triumphal arch was erected at the foot of the Rialto bridge, while every window had its flags or carpets, and for three days continuously the bells of all the churches rang joy-peals. In jubilation for so signal a victory the Carnival of 1571 was more animated than usual; the various groups of masqueraders, made up of young men dressed as Stradiotti, Swiss, Turks, Moors, fishermen, gardeners, roused the greatest enthusiasm; they formed an escort to a procession of cars on which were represented Faith, Venice, the three quarters of the globe,

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, XVI, 147.

the great Venetian festivals.¹ Shows of this nature, which made their first appearance at the beginning of the century,² received their crowning development precisely in this Carnival of 1571.

These masquerades were of common occurrence even out of Carnival time, at feasts and banquets in private houses; and in the first quarter of the sixteenth century we find them occupying the theatre. They became so frequent that between 1461 and 1607 we meet with various decrees forbidding them, *eccetto per quei giorni del Carnevale, che per l'uso ordinario sono permessi*,³ that is, from the feast of Saint Stephen to the first day of Lent, with the exception of the feast of the Circumcision and of the Purification. Carnival gradually came to be more and more thronged with masqueraders, the principal figures being the magnifico or pantaloon as he afterwards became, the *Zanni* and the *Mattaccino*.⁴ Every one without distinction — noble, plebeian, courtesan alike — delighted to slip on the mask and to make merry at San Marco or at Santo Stefano, pelting each other with eggs filled with scented waters.⁵

The ceremony which accompanied the laying of the foundation stone of the Redentore, erected as a thanksgiving for liberation from the plague of 1577, was

¹ *Ordine et dichiarazione di tutta la mascherata fatta nella città di Venetia la domenica di Carnevale MDLXXI per la gloriosa vittoria contra Turchi.* Venetia, Angelieri, 1572.

² Bertelli in his *Diversarum Nationum Habitus nunc primum editi a Pe. Bertellio*, T. II, Patavii, 1591, gives three of these masquerades set to music.

³ Mutinelli, *Lessico Veneto* s. v. *Maschere*.

⁴ Pantaloon is said to be derived from the name *Pantaleone*, which was in common use in early Venice. Others say it is a corruption from *pianta leone* — plant the lion — as the Venetians did in the cities and lands they conquered. *Zanni*, according to some, is derived from the ancient form *Sannio*, or *Giovanni* or *Gianni*, in dialect *Zuane*, *Zane*, *Zanni*. The *Mattello*, *Matterello*, or *Mattaccino*, was dressed in white, with red lacing and shoes; he was a kind of clown. See the plates engraved by Giulio Goltzius in Io. Iac. Boissardus' *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium*, 1581.

⁵ Bertelli, op. cit., T. II.



A CARNIVAL Scene — from the
"Customs" of Franco

particularly splendid in the richness of the hangings and the dazzling display of colour. The new church was to be built on the Giudecca, and Andrea Palladio was appointed architect. The third Sunday in July was fixed for the function, and on the chosen site a temporary wooden church was erected. A great bridge of boats, 2550 feet long and 18 wide, was thrown from the piazzetta across to the Giudecca. The Ducal Palace, the Library, and the other buildings round San Marco were hung with carpets and precious tapestries, with gilded shields and pictures and banners. On the appointed day the liberation of the city from the plague was formally proclaimed from the pulpit of San Marco, and the procession began to wind its way across the bridge to the sound of bells and of music and to the roar of cannon, while a wave of enthusiasm swept over the throng. With standards displayed and reliquaries and images and crosses carried shoulder high, the guilds and confraternities, the magistrates and nobles and their ladies, headed the procession. Then came the patriarch, Trevisan, in pure white robes, the dean (*Primicerio*) of San Marco, the Armenian patriarch, the canons in their rochets, the friars, chanting, under the fourteen banners of their various orders, the clergy under their eleven banners bearing an infinite number of reliquaries and robed in rich copes of cloth of gold sewn with pearls. Last of all, accompanied by Senators and ambassadors, came the Doge, Sebastiano Venier, a noble and dignified figure, clad in white with a great mantle of silver brocade hanging from his shoulders. A contemporary writes: "Nell' arrivo di Sua Serenità al ponte parve disfarsi il mondo perchè da l'artiglieria, tamburi, trombe e voci di popolo, fu gloriosamente e repentinamente percossa l'aria." In the wooden church mass was sung to the music of Giuseppe Zarlino, the famous master of the music to the Doge. Such was the first feast of the Redentore, a ceremony still kept

up to this day with great rejoicing and concourse of people.¹

Venice was resolved that her Prince should be surrounded by all external marks of magnificence, to enhance the respect and veneration bestowed upon the office. It was absolutely necessary that the Doge should be a person of private fortune in order to maintain his state, for the public purse supplied him the insufficient income of only twelve thousand ducats a year. From the day of his election, when he scattered coin among the people, — a custom dating from the reign of Sebastiano Ziani, — the government never wearied of the ceremonies which greeted the accession of the Doge and of the Dogaressa.

The coronations and processions of the Doge and his wife give us a true picture of the city in the splendour and glitter of festivals which Venetian genius rendered ever more and more varied and more magnificent. Salvoes of artillery from the galleys, anchored in the basin of San Marco, announced the election of the new Doge, and they were answered by the bells of the whole city. The newly elected Prince accompanied by the six Savii who had gone to bring him from his private house, went first to the Palace and then to the basilica, where he mounted the marble tribune to the right of the choir and showed himself to the people. After mass had been celebrated the Doge swore fidelity to the Constitution and received from the Primicerio the standard of the Republic. He was then robed in the ducal mantle and borne round the piazza, in a wooden pulpit called the *pozzetto*, by eighty arsenal hands, while two bodies of *arsenalotti* armed with long red staves opened the way amid the crowds to whom the Doge flung handfuls of gold and silver coins. After making the tour of the piazza the

¹ Molmenti, *Sebastiano Veniero e la batt. di Lepanto*, pp. 236 et seq. Firenze, 1899.



PROCESSION of the Doge — from the "Customs"
of Franco

Doge was conducted to the Giants' staircase, where the youngest ducal councillor placed on his head the ducal bonnet, the *Corno ducale*. The ceremony closed with a sumptuous banquet, but the people continued to celebrate the event for three days more.

Sometimes popular jubilation broke all bounds, as happened at the election of Marino Grimani (1595), when the exultation was so great that "furono levati i Banchi di Palazzo, e Botteghe portate in Piazza per la Sensa, et bruggiate, come segul del legno, dove si dà la Corda per eccedente allegrezza della Plebe." Large doles of bread and wine were made to the poor. The new Doge, along with his three sons-in-law and one nephew, was carried round the piazza in the *pozzetto* and "gettò molta quantità di danari, che teneva in tre bacilli d'argento. La Dogaressa parimente con 3 sue figlie gettarono da' balconi di Palazzo buona somma di dennari, sì che il popolo per molto tempo doppo, ogni volta che vedeva, il Principe gridava altamente, 'Viva, Viva.' Nelle Piazze la notte sequente furono fatti dal popolo gran fuochi che bruggiò i Banchi de Tribunali et intorno la piazza, e tutto il legname che puotè havere."¹

The elections of the patriarchs, the grand chancellors, and the Procuratori di San Marco, were also celebrated with great solemnity, the latter receiving from the hands of the Doge a velvet stole, the symbol of their office. The commanders-in-chief were accompanied to the Palace by a crowd of nobles, and there they were presented to the Prince, who bestowed on them the baton of command and consigned to them the standard of the Republic. On such occasions the shopkeepers in the Merceria were wont to display their goods, and the exchange houses were decked with works of art, pictures, and carvings.

¹ Caroldo, *St. Ven. con l'aggiunta* (Cod. marc. it. cl. VII. ital. cod. 142, fol. 339). See Pilot, *L'elez. del doge Marino Grimani* (extract from *Pag. Istriane*, A. II, fasc. 2. Capodistria, 1904).

The coronation of the Dogaressa also offered a striking spectacle, with its display of handsome liveries and sumptuous robes, and the brilliant colours of plumes and of stuffs, the flash of arms and of gold. The solemn reception of the Dogaressa at the Palace—a custom dating from the thirteenth century and the reign of Lorenzo Tiepolo—assumed the form of a veritable triumphal procession in the following centuries. In the Quattrocento the consort of the Doge made her entry into the Palace escorted by a long train of noble ladies, councillors, procurators, secretaries, footmen, and grooms; banners, standards of cloth of gold; pipes and silver trumpets closed the cortège. At the door of the basilica the Dogaressa was received by the canons, *cum li piviali solenni, cieri d'argento, croce et apparati*. At the banquet prepared at the Palace for the members of the craft guilds there was a profusion *di tazzoni et fiaschi d'argento con bone confecione et meglior vini*.¹ Even more splendid was the pomp which accompanied the coronations of the Dogaresse in the sixteenth century. Especially memorable were those of Zilia Dandolo, wife of the Doge Lorenzo Priuli (1556) and of Morosina Morosini, wife of Marino Grimani (1597). At the coronation of Zilia Dandolo the guilds played a large part. Preceded by their wardens (*gastaldi*) and mace-bearers, with banners flying and to the sound of trumpets and drums, they marched round the piazza. The Princess then visited the chambers of the Ducal Palace, which were hung with tapestries, carpets, damask, and cloth of gold at the charges of the guilds who were invited to a sumptuous banquet in the Hall of the Great Council. The following morning all were presented to the Doge, who, after praising the richness and good taste of the guilds, especially thanked the wardens and gave them his hand to kiss.

¹ *Il trionfo della Dogaressa nel sec. XV. Venezia, tip. Cecchini, 1874.*

At the coronation of Morosina Morosini the guild of fleshers erected a high arch near the Ponte della Paglia ; it was adorned with figures, ornaments, mottoes, and trophies. After passing down the Grand Canal in the Bucentaur accompanied by boats fantastically decked, the Dogaressa landed at the piazzetta and, preceded by upwards of a thousand youths belonging to the various arts, all dressed in silks, she entered the church with a joyous throng pressing around her. Thence she proceeded to the Palace, where the wardens offered their congratulations and good wishes. The rooms were all hung by the various guilds ; the barbers, tailors, mercers, and bootmakers had brought out their most precious tapestries and carpets ; the goldsmiths had filled an immense case with silver plates ; the mirror-makers had supplied great looking-glasses ; the furriers, rare furs ; the armourers, finely wrought swords. In this species of industrial exhibition there was a rivalry in elegance and good taste and sumptuousness. Through these chambers with their ceilings covered with azure-coloured cloth, their doors gilded or silvered, their columns hung with silks and carpets, their chairs draped with velvets, and their gilded benches, the Dogaressa passed in state ; welcomed to the sound of various instruments and served with all kinds of comfits, preserves, candies, by members of the guilds drawn up in due order before her.¹

On certain solemn occasions, for some festival of the Church or of the State,² the Doge left the Palace to the sound of the bells of San Marco, surrounded by councillors, magistrates, canons, ambassadors,

¹ Molmenti, *La Dogaressa di Venezia*, cap. VI and VII. Torino, 1887.

² For the chief religious and civil ceremonies see Part I, p. 209 of this history.

Among the festivals of the sixteenth century we may mention the visit of the Doge to the church of Santa Marina on July 17, to commemorate the recovery of Padua in 1509, and to the church of Santa Giustina on October 7, to recall the victory of Lepanto.

equerries, etc. Eight standard bearers and trumpeters preceded the procession. They are thus described in the *Ceremoniali*: "Octo vexilla Imperialia sericea auro distincta, cum imagine sancti Marci sub leonis spetie, quorum duo priora candida sunt; duo succedentia celestis coloris, duo tertio loco delata ametisti, vel sanguinei, seu subrubi coloris; ultima duo coloris chermesini, seu rubri, et eorum quidcumque crucem habet deauratam in superiori parte haste. Sex tubae argenteae longae quarum cuique pendet signum unum sericeum, aureo distinctum, cum insigni peculiari et domestico Domini Ducis corona superposita. Duae aliae tubae argenteae intorte quarum utrique pendet signum purpureum, cum D. Ducis insigni, et tres tibiae seu ut vulgo dicitur pifari."¹ The standards were borne by *comandadori* in long blue mantles and with red caps adorned with a gold medal having the imprint of the sequin. Then to the sound of pipes came the ducal equerries, the master of the horse, the Missier grande, the steward, and the deacon with a silver candelabra; then six canons in copes, two ducal factors, four secretaries to the Senate, the ducal chaplain, two chancellors and the Grand Chancellor between two equerries, one of whom bore a gilded chair and the other a yellow satin cushion. A large umbrella of cloth of gold, adorned in the reign of Giovanni Dandolo (1280-1289), with a figure of the Annunciation (*umbrella Domini Ducis in vertice habeat Annunciatam*), was carried by another equerry and protected the Doge, who, wrapped in a mantle of cloth of gold with a train borne by four pages, solemnly advanced between the Papal Nuncio, the Imperial ambassador and the other envoys, followed by a noble bearing a sword. The cortège was closed by one of the Giudici del Proprio, the Procurators, the Councillors, the Chiefs of the Quarantia, the Avogadori,

¹ Arch. di Stato, *Cerimoniali*, T. I, foll. 7, 8.

the Chiefs of the Ten, the Censors, the Knights of the Golden Stole, sixty patrician magistrates, marching upright, starched, haughty, dressed in velvet and damask, and, lastly, soldiers with swords whose pommels were of gold or silver.¹ The air was alive with the clang of arms, the flash of gold and steel, and the sound of a moving multitude drunk with exultation.

The State displayed its utmost magnificence at the reception of ambassadors representing great sovereigns and nations, not merely in order to maintain its habit of splendid hospitality, but that the name of Venice might ever be renowned, admired, and feared by strangers.

If a person of consequence announced his arrival, the city put on its gala aspect, and the government were wont to send an embassy of thirty nobles, chosen from among the oldest or the youngest, according to the stranger's rank, to meet him. If the guest were a king or a great prince or a cardinal legate, the Doge himself went in the Bucentaur to receive him. The more distinguished guests were usually conducted into Venice by way of the sea, the most beautiful and most imposing approach. Very often, especially if the stranger were a prelate, he would land at one of those fair islands that encircle the city and would rest at one of the monasteries, San Clemente or Santo Spirito. There he would be met by the Doge and the nobility. If, for example, the nuncio were a cardinal, the Doge was bound to go to San Clemente to welcome him; in the portico they erected *sedile eminens pro Cardinale et Duce qui pares sedent sub strato panno chermesino seu aureo*. The Bucentaur with the Doge and cardinal, the boats of the nobles decked in cloth of gold, — in short, all the triumphal

¹ *La processione del Doge nella Domenica delle Palme*, a large engraving about four metres long, printed in Venice by Mattio Pagan in Frezzeria al segno della Fede (between 1556 and 1569).

pomp of Venice — would then move towards the city, where they landed at Saint Mark's and entered the church, the Doge and the cardinal both sitting *in eminentiori loco pares*.¹ When the nuncio or an ambassador was received in audience at the Palace, they first made reverence, and then all the members of the cabinet rose and uncovered; the Doge, however, never raised his bonnet except to sovereigns, the princes of France, and cardinals.

In September, 1481, Pope Sixtus IV sent his nephew Girolamo Riario, with his wife, Caterina Sforza, to Venice to conclude an alliance. The Doge Giovanni Mocenigo and one hundred and fifteen ladies resplendent in jewels went in the Bucentaur to meet the pair as far as San Clemente; among the ladies was the Doge's youthful daughter-in-law dressed in cloth of gold. The day after his arrival in the city the Count was received in the Hall of the Great Council and enrolled among the Venetian nobility. Then a hundred and thirty-two noble damsels bedecked with splendid gems, gold, and pearls assembled in the Hall of the Palace. The Doge and the nobility rose at the entry of Count Girolamo and his spouse. Dancing began at once, and as night came down various games were started and carried on till four hours after sundown. Then a magnificent banquet was served to all the guests. "Gli abiti delle donne," writes the chronicler Giacomo da Volterra, "come mi fu assicurato da persone competenti e che dicono il vero, rappresentavano un valore di trecento mila monete d'oro."² The Riarri, however, did not completely succeed in their political mission. Venice was lavish to prodigality in the reception of her guests, but never lost sight of her major interests.

In 1493 another lady, Beatrice d'Este, wife of Lodovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, with various princes

¹ Arch. di Stato, *Cerimoniali*, T. I, fol. 13.

² Pasolini, *Caterina Sforza*, Vol. I, pp. 119, 120. Roma, 1893.

of her blood and the Milanese ambassadors, came to Venice with the intent to strengthen the league already formed between Venice and Milan in view of the threatened descent of Charles VIII. Beatrice wrote to her husband letters full of curious details as to the princely nature of her reception, describing the balls, the spectacles, the allegorical representations given in her honour in the Ducal Palace.¹ Seven years later the political atmosphere had undergone a change, and Venice expressed equal joy over the imprisonment of Lodovico Sforza, whose wife she had received with so much honour. When the news spread through the city that their recent enemy, who in accordance with his shifting policy had joined the enemies of Venice, was a prisoner, the people thronged the piazza and lit bonfires; the houses were illuminated, the bells rang out. The rejoicings lasted till the following evening, and Sanudo records, on April 14, 1500, that "in questa sera fo fato fuoco in piazza di san Marcho justa il solito e compito de bruser le panaterie, et eri sera fo fato portar per la Signoria 30 cara di legne su la piazza, et l'orator di Franza ozi venuto fe comprar uno burchio di legne e fe cazar fuoco per mezo la sua caxa et fe bruser le legne con tuto el burchio qual lo pagò."²

Among many we may name a few of the illustrious personages who in the sixteenth century found splendid hospitality in Venice. On February 17, 1502, the Marchioness of Mantua, the Duchess of Urbino, the Marchioness of Cotrone, who had reached Venice incognito, were lodged in the Palazzo Trevisan at Sant' Eustachio, and were visited by the Savii agli ordini, who made them offers of service and gave them handsome

¹ Arch. di Stato, Milano. See Appendix, Doc. A. The letters of Beatrice were published for the first time in the original edition of this book (Torino, Roux e Favale, 1880).

² Sanudo, *Diari*, III, 225.

presents.¹ A Frenchman, M. Bretagne, a herald-at-arms, recounts the *brillante réception* offered to Anne, daughter of William, Count de Candale, and wife of Ladislas VI, King of Bohemia and Hungary, on July 13, 1502. There were regattas for women and men, jousts in boats on the Grand Canal, balls and banquets on board the Bucentaur and in the Palace; the Republic spent at the rate of four hundred ducats a day on these shows.² In 1520 the Marquis of Mantua was lodged at Santa Sofia in the house of his ambassador; to celebrate his visit the companions of the Hose belonging to the Club of the Immortals raised a great wooden platform on the Grand Canal, where they gave a ball, inviting fifty ladies. On board two other boats — one bearing the arms of Morosini, the other of Molin — they also danced in masquerade; then followed water jousts, regattas, music, song, salvoes of guns. On board a barge hung with the arms of Mantua a sumptuous banquet was offered to the Marquis, who afterwards went on board the floating platform where, to the light of two hundred torches, the dance was still going on. The people thronged the quays and the pavements, and scrambled upon the cornices and sills of the windows and on every projection of architecture or of sculpture.³ Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, arrived in 1562 with a following of over three thousand persons; accompanied by the Signory of Venice, he crossed the Grand Canal to take up his lodging in the palace belonging to the Dukes of Ferrara at San Giovanni Decollato. An eyewitness, after describing the windows and balconies of the palaces on the Grand Canal hung with

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, IV, 234.

² *Fêtes données à la reine de Hongrie et ordre de son voyage, depuis Venise jusqu'en Hongrie*, par Bretagne, Héraut d'armes. MS. in folio, on parchment of the sixteenth century. There are seven leaves, and the codex belonged to the Bibliothèque Béthure. See *Les manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, par Paulin, Paris, Vol. I, pp. 104-105. Paris, 1836.

³ Sanudo, XXVIII, 561.

carpets and tapestries, and thronged with gentlemen and *bellissime matrone*, the canal packed close with gondolas and boats, the quays alive with a variegated crowd acclaiming the Duke, continues thus: "Smontò il duca alla riva del suo palagio: alla quale si trovò un ponte di lunghezza di 50 piede e di larghezza di 20. E le porte e le finestre del palagio erano tutte superbamente ornate di festoni con le armi di san Marco e della casa pur d'Este. Questo parimento si era fatto a sei altri palagi: i quali questo serenissimo dominio haveva fatto apparecchiar superbissimamente per li personaggi principali, cioè per gl' illustrissimi signori Don Francesco e Don Alfonso, il signor Galeazzo Gonzaga, il conte della Mirandola, il conte di Novellara et il signor Cornelio Bentivoglio, di maniera che pareva l'un palagio gareggiasse con l'altro di apparecchio e di ornamento. Erasi per ciascun di questi adornata una gondola con finissimi panni di razzi, a differenza di quella del duca, che era coperta di broccato. Furono medesimamente assegnate cinquanta altre gondole con tappeti a servizio della corte."¹ After the middle of the sixteenth century, in the reign of Francesco Veniero (1554-1556), Giulia Varano, wife of Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the envoy of the French King to treat of an alliance with the Republic, and Bona, widow of Sigismund, King of Poland (1554), greeted by Cassandra Fedele on board the Bucentaur, all had opportunity to admire the riches of Venice.

Historians, poets, painters have preserved for us in its minutest details the famous entry of Henri de Valois into Venice. He had been elected King of Poland but a few months earlier, and at Cracow the news reached him that his brother Charles IX, King of France, had died on May 30, 1574, in the Chateau

¹ *La entrata che fece in Venetia l'Ill. et Ecc. signor Duca Alfonso II Estense Duca V di Ferrara.* Venetia, Rampazetto, MDLXXII.

of Vincennes. The Crown of France, which now belonged to Henry, offered higher attractions than the Crown of Poland, and the young sovereign at once made up his mind to leave his kingdom, where he felt himself an exile. He kept his resolve a secret from his Polish subjects, and one evening, feigning to go to bed as usual, he summoned to consultation some of his trusty Frenchmen, and then without losing a moment's time he took horse and under cover of night fled across a country hardly known to him. No sooner did the Poles learn the news of this flight than two hundred horsemen set out at full gallop in pursuit, but they did not overtake the flying monarch till he had already crossed the frontier of Austria. The Grand Chamberlain Tenczynski cried to the king, *Serenissima Majestas cur fugis?* but Henry, vouchsafing no reply, pursued his way, and on reaching Vienna sent letters to the Signory of Venice announcing his intention of passing through their territory and of visiting the most remarkable and the richest city in the world. Many princes flocked to Venice to welcome the new sovereign of France and to add to the splendour of the occasion. And indeed the spectacles and shows offered by the Republic were extraordinary and even fantastic, — revels, plays, banquets, illuminations, serenades. The chroniclers tell us of the welcome offered to the king at the frontier and the number of Senators who went to meet him; they describe the gondola furnished with gold brocade, the arrival at Murano, the young patricians appointed to wait on the king, each dressed in a cloak of silk, the guard of honour of sixty halberdiers in orange silk uniforms and armed with battle-axes. The king, accompanied by the Doge, was brought to Venice on a galley of four hundred oars, amid salvoes of artillery and followed by a long train of galleys, brigantines, boats of all kinds bedecked with tapestry, cloth of gold, velvet, mirrors, arms. At San Niccolò on



The Arrival of Henry III in Venice, (A painting by
Andrea Vicentino in the Hall of the Four Doors in
the Ducal Palace)

the Lido there was raised a triumphal arch, designed by Palladio, painted by Tintoretto and Veronese. The son of Catherine de' Medici was lodged in the Palazzo Foscari, furnished for the occasion with tapestries, azure cloth wrought in gold, satin, and velvet *semé* of fleurs-de-lys. They entertained him with regattas, faction fights on the bridges between the Castellani and Nicolotti, public banquets and theatrical representations in the Ducal Palace.¹

And in order that those who visited Venice might carry away a vivid idea of her marvellous wealth, her guests were not merely magnificently entertained, as we have shown, but received handsome presents as well.

Leonardo Botta, Milanese ambassador to the Republic, in 1476 sends to the Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza a curious account of the reception accorded to some Tartar envoys. The first ambassador, *bello homo, grave de aspetto*, dressed in a costume *conforme al ungaresco*, appeared before the Signory with a suite of twelve; by means of two interpreters he expressed the friendly sentiments which animated his master, in whose name he offered as a present two suits of armour and a horse. The Republic *per extendere il nome et fama sua*, entertained the ambassadors royally for the space of three months, showing them all the wonders of the city. Botta, like the good Milanese he was, notes that the Tartars, used only to horseflesh and to water, milk, and honey, *perchè non havevano cognitione di vino*, took very kindly to wine, even though the malmsey gave them red eyes. "Deinde," continues Botta, "essa Signoria ha facto ad dicto oratore una veste de brochato doro cremisi, una de damaschino alexandrino et una de

¹ A small but interesting collection might be made of the tracts which describe the *fêtes* in honour of Henry III. The fullest sources are Rocco de Benedetti (*Feste et trionfi nella felice venuta di Henrico III, ecc.* Venetia, 1574); Della Croce (*Ist. della pubbl. et famosa entrata in Ven. del Sereniss. Henrico III.* Venezia, 1574), and recently De Nolhac and Solerti (*Il viaggio in It. di Enr. III.* Torino, 1890).

damaschino verde. Et perchè lui et compagna sua non havevano portato più che una camisa per uno, come se fussino andati in villa, essa Signoria ha in questo tempo speso vinti ducati in farli fare camise longe alla tartarescha. Ulterius manda ad donare al grande Tartaro: Una peza de brochato doro cremesino con pelo, una peza de brochato doro alexandrino, una peza de brochato d'oro verde; tute longe braza XVIII per fare doe veste da cadauna sorte alla tartaresca. Item una peza de damaschino alexandrino; una peza de damaschino verde. Doe peze de scarlato e Doe peze de morello de grana Longe tute alla predicta misura. Item balassi dieci da XXX infino in LX ducati l'uno. Perle X da XX infino in XL ducati l'una. Item spade XII italiane de più sorte. Pancere XII bellissime. Item li fa le spese de cavalli et de dinari infino giongano alla presentia del gran Tartaro."¹

In 1576 a cha'ush, or envoy from the Sublime Porte, arrived in Venice and was assigned five ducats a day. Every time he had audience the councillors rose, and he was placed on the Doge's right. On his departure he received five hundred sequins as a gift, besides ten splendid robes, five of damask, four of scarlet, and one of velvet.²

At private entertainments, at weddings, at receptions by the Doge, at the theatres, everywhere, in short, we see the companions of the Hose present, *con le loro gondole et servitori adornatissimi, con le loro livree, imprese et motti*.³ The various clubs which formed

¹ Arch. di Stato di Milano, *Carteggio diplomatico*. Ill^{mo} principi et excellentissimo Domino Galeaz. Mariae Sfortiae, XX julii, 1476.

² Arch. di Stato, *Cerimoniali*, T. I, fol. XLVII.

³ From a manuscript miscellany of the Pisani Library, Santo Stefano (Museo Civico, MSS. Cicogna, Cod. 3278) we learn the devices and costumes of some of these clubs. The *Accesi*, founded by Alberto Badoaro, bore a lion with a snake twisted round its neck. The *Floridi* wore the right leg divided lengthwise, the inner half scarlet, the outer purple; the left leg all green. The *Reali* wore the right leg scarlet, the left azure inside and purple out. The embroidery showed a cypress with the motto *Al ciel s'erga il dolce nome*. The *Modesti* wore pale rose-coloured hose.

the company of the *Hose* reached their highest splendour in the middle of the Cinquecento. Always ready to amuse and be amused, the companions planned spectacles, directed festivities, enlivened the ducal banquets with music and song; they revived the ancient Roman Comedy and carried a note of gaiety and refined taste even into the churches.¹

At Venice every occasion served for gaiety, display, amusement. Besides the *Forze d'Ercole*, the faction fights, bull baiting, regattas, civil and religious functions, in which the people took a large part, there were other spectacles which had a purely popular character and which gradually grew in importance. The people, to compensate themselves for political nonentity, drowned the thought of their lost liberties in the delight of public spectacles which served to display all the pomp of vast riches; and mid the universal gaiety they remained both quiet and smooth-tempered. Rarely even in such a crowd did quarrels spring up; one seldom saw threatening gestures or heard insults exchanged. The very factions of the *Castellani*, who wore red caps and sashes, and of the *Nicolotti*, who wore black, never seriously shook the peace of the city, though their contests offered a favourite public show. Blood was hardly ever shed, and both sides were ready, at the moment of danger to the fatherland, to forget their rivalry and to feel themselves good sons of San Marco. The whole movement of Venetian life recalled the gaiety of a happy family.

At San Raffaele, at San Niccolò, and at Santa Marta lived the fisher population, who formed a little republic by themselves; they had their *Gastaldo*, called the "Doge," with twelve presidents and a chancellor, all of them charged with the regulation and

¹ In 1529 the *Reali* caused a solemn Mass to be sung at Santa Marina in the month of May. In 1564 in June, the *Accesi*, whose prior was Geronimo Foscari, caused a Mass to be sung in Santa Croce on the Giudecca. MS. Cicogna, cit.

administration of the fishing industry. The aristocracy was careful not to interfere with their innocent satisfaction in empty names and outward shows, it even sent its officers to lend a certain air of dignity to this shadow of a free community. When the time came for the election of a *gastaldo grande*, or head of the Nicolotti fishermen, draperies were hung from all the windows, the bells rang out in joyous peals, while the voting took place in the church of San Niccolò in the presence of a Ducal Secretary to whom the newly elected "Doge" took the oath of fidelity. The day following the "Doge," not in his ordinary garb of black, but clothed in red cap, cloak, shoes and stockings, preceded by the standard and accompanied by a great crowd to the blare of trumpets and the discharge of mortars, crossed the Rialto and went to the Palace, where the Doge embraced and kissed him.¹ An allegory of this pleasing ceremony was preserved in the picture of that genial Cinquecento artist, Vitruvio of Vicenza, who painted for a chamber of the Ducal Palace a representation of the "Doge" of the Nicolotti offering his heart to Venice. On Ascension Day the Doge gave a banquet to the fishers of San Niccolò, and on the Feast of the Purification, when visiting the church of Santa Maria Formosa, the guild of cofferers (*Cassellieri*) in the name of the people offered his Serenity a straw hat, muscat wine, and oranges. These exchanges of courtesy, which were not a mere form, helped to knit rulers and ruled together.

Another purely popular festival was the *Sagra* of Santa Marta. The custom among the fisher-folk of supping together in Summer when the hard day's work was done, gave rise to the merry-makings and suppers which were held on the eve of the feast of Santa Marta in the parish called by her name. The people set out a sumptuous repast either in boats or on the shores of

¹ Arch. di Stato, Collegio, *Notatorio*, Reg. 14, fol. 41 r°.

the lagoon, and among the dishes the most popular was soles in a sauce called *saor*.¹ The feast of Martinmas also was celebrated by uproarious suppers and copious libations of new wine. Noisy bands went marching through the streets on the evening of that day, halting below windows, singing choruses of good wishes to the owners of the houses and begging a dole in food and wine. A song in the Veneto-Sclav dialect, which possessed a little literature of its own in the sixteenth century, has preserved an echo of these popular merry-makings :

Benvegnoo sia Martignun
che se allegra tutti quanti,
e misser, maduna e santi
e ogn'altro compagnun
Benvegnoo sia Martignun.
Ognun triumpho, beui, magna
bon formaio, bon frutaia,
de bon carne, bon lasagna,
bon gallina, bon capun,
Benvegnoo sia Martignun. . . .
Tuti vadi noto intorno
magna beui infina zurno ;
e cantando suna curno,
dami nespola e marun
Benvegnoo sia Martignun. . . .²

Should it strike any one that these popular diversions came too frequently, it is enough to bear in mind that if work is to be smartly and efficiently done it is absolutely necessary that the worker must have leisure for play and for recuperation. And it was the very vigour and healthiness of the work itself that created the joyous abandon of the play hours. Moreover these frequent festivals — which to-day would only mean laziness and foolish orgies — were at that epoch one of the means for assisting the development of industry by tempting foreigners to the city, where they

¹ Made of onions and vinegar.

² *Canzone alla Schiavonesca di San Martino* in Menghini's *Canzoni ant. del popolo It.* Vol. I, fasc. 4. Roma, 1900. See note on pp. 86 et seq. of Vitt. Rossi.

bought and sold and spent money, and so became a source of gain to the population, an industry in itself. The fifteen days of the Ascension Fair brought in large profits, and at the more celebrated *sagre* painters exposed their pictures, sculptors their statues, and mercers their wares.

To encourage and facilitate commerce and correspondence between business men, the State arranged an active service of letter carriers, every one of whom was called on to deposit an adequate sum of caution money.¹ The couriers arrived at Fusina on horseback, and thence boats were ready to carry the correspondence not only of the government, but letters, packets, money, valises, chests, etc. belonging to private individuals, by whom they were paid.² The districts of the Veneto sent their foreign correspondence through Venice.

With such a stream of foreigners the city certainly did not lack lodgings for their reception. At Ascensiontide over a hundred thousand people poured into Venice, and yet all this crowd found ready if not comfortable housing. Foreigners of distinction were harboured in the exchanges conceded by the government to the various nationalities or sometimes in the leading hostelries; if the concourse were very great, the government gave special licenses to private individuals to receive strangers. Hostelries were called *case*;³ the commoner kind, *caneve* and *taverne*.⁴ It is to these, without doubt, that Garzoni refers when he talks of "Un' hostaria tutta sfessa e smantellata; una camera sbucata, ruinata e sostentata per forza di pontelli, ricetti di topi solamente, un solaro nero come la caligine dei camini, un lastricato di quadrelli mobili,

¹ Ciscato, *I portalettere in Padova nel Cinquecento* (*Bollettino del Museo civico di Padova*, a. II, 1900).

² Garzoni, *Piazza*, op. cit., p. 447.

³ The name *albergo* properly indicates the meeting-room of a guild.

⁴ Gallicciolli, III, 257, 259.

che par che i spiriti l'abbian disfatto a posta, le mura spegazzate di mille disonestà e sporcizie, che i forestieri, per dispetto, v'hanno scritto per tutto; le tavole più onte, che quelle dei beccari, e tarolate dentro e fuori per la vecchiezza; le tovaglie sporche di vino e di brodo, ove il Re de Moscoviti fa perpetua residenza; i faccioli rotti, e ruinati più che le vele dei marinari; i salini attaccati insieme col filo e con la cera; i bicchieri senza piedi; i boccali col viso rotto; i cucchiari brutti, come le mescole di cucina; i coltelli senza taglio, le forcine senza punta . . . i sugamani stracciati, come le tele dei ragni; i lenzuoli tutti ripezzati e carichi di brutture; i cussini puzzolenti più che l'orina guasta; i capezzali pieni di cimici . . . e insomma tutta l'osteria acclama da ogni parte pidocchieria estrema e infinita."

It was chiefly at Saint Mark's and at the Rialto, the two centres of greatest activity, that these hostelries were to be found; in the fifteenth century they numbered more than twenty, and all at that time had stables and horses. On the piazza of San Marco there was the *Cappello*, whose sign appears, hung out from the Procuratie, in Gentile Bellini's picture of the Procession (1497) and the *Salvadego*, probably so called from the name of the first host. On the quay were the *Leone*, the *Pellegrino*, the *Cavalletto*, and the *Luna*, all of which were taken down when the Library was built by Sansovino. There were three others near the Ponte della Paglia, the *Serpe*, the *Stella*, and the *Corona*. These hostelries near San Marco must have been the most comfortable, and as a fact, in 1496, five representatives of the city of Taranto were lodged at the *Serpe*.¹ The Cha'ush from the Sublime Porte, who was in Venice in 1579, was put up at the *Corona*, as no private lodging could be found for him on account of the plague which was then raging.

¹ Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, pp. 526, 711. Venezia, 1887.

At Rialto we get the *Leon Bianco*, at San Bartolomeo in the Corte dell' Orso, and near the great bridge the *Campana*, of which Marin Sanudo¹ was co-proprietor; the *Bo*, the *Angelo*, the *Torre*, the *Donzella*, and finally the *Sturion*, which gave its name to the calle and was closed about 1511.² The sign of the sturgeon was represented by Carpaccio in his picture of the Patriarch of Grado freeing a demoniac. In all these hostleries, which are not to be confounded with the *caneve* and *taverne* of a lower class, the foreigner would find decent food, good beds, and many comforts, including women of loose character. This scandal was suppressed by a law of May 22, 1489.

¹ "Adi 3 novembrio 1496, zonse in questa terra venuti con un navilio di Monopoli cinque Ambassadors di l'Università di Taranto tre francesi uno di qual è Borgognon et do cittadini con 4 fameglii et li francesi nomevano Loy francese è Nicolò di Pavi; li cittadini Raphael Cazanegi et Ugolino Bochariolo, e questi arivono al hostaria di la Serpa al ponte di paia." Sanudo, *Diari*, I, 376.

² Sanudo, *ibid.*, XIII, 458, says that on January 10, 1513, a fire broke out at Rialto in a shop of *Tellaruoli* qua *teniva il diamante per insegna*, and spread rapidly, "et fu sonato campanò a Rialto dove tutti concorseno sì quelli avevano volte et magazeni con mercadantie, come li botegieri e altri avevano stabile in Rialto, tra i quali io Marin Sanudo, fo missier Lunardo vi corsi per aver parte in l'ostaria di la Campana, di la qual trago el viver mio di fitto ducati 205 (about forty pounds sterling) oltra le boteghe da basso."



GONDOLAS — detail of Carpaccio's painting, "The Patriarch of Grado freeing a Demoniac," (Venice,

CHAPTER V

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

AT epochs of advanced civilisation the manifestations of genius occur more frequently and more strikingly than at other times. As in the preparatory period of toil and labour individual genius (with some rare exceptions) appears to a certain extent to be hampered and incomplete, so in the golden age of a people's history it seems to reflect the serene splendour of the historical moment. The artists born at the time when Venice, having over-passed the period of her rude and early greatness, touched the acme of her external splendour, translate the triumph of their country into terms of their art which set its seal on the period in a revel of colour and of form.

In architecture the style of the pointed arch, which had superseded the Byzantine and Roman arches, now in its turn began to yield its place to that harmony and balance which characterise the art of the Renaissance. It is impossible to separate definitely and sharply the architectural and decorative style of the Middle Ages from that of the new era, for the first mingles with the second, the second borrows something from the first. Yet there are striking differences, and we must bear in mind that the style of the Renaissance is not identical throughout all Italy. Each region has, so to speak, its local genius which shows, it is true, its direct descent from the decorative art of ancient Rome, but which varies and combines its material in obedience to local usage and tradition, and very often in obedience to the ideas of some artist of dominating genius who is

therefore frequently imitated. Thus the Renaissance style in Lombardy, very different from the same style in Venice, takes its imprint from Bramante, Suardi, called Bramantino, Ambrogio da Fossano, Caradosso. In Bologna we find Nadi leaving his mark upon architecture; Florence recognises as her leaders Brunelleschi, Leo Battista Alberti, the da Maiano, Cronaca; Naples has her Brunelleschi in Agnello Fiore; Urbino in Luciano di Laurana, and so on. Each little Italian State gives us variants, not in the principles of the art, but in the method and the details. That these variants are less obvious in the sixteenth century, when the art was full grown, is due to the fact that by that time Italian architecture had come to be a direct imitation of Romanesque, while decoration availed itself of the grotesque, called later *alla raffaella*, which Raphael had glorified in the Loggie of the Vatican.

In Venice, as early as the close of the Middle Ages, we find examples of that art which took as its model ancient Roman monuments; already in 1460 classical architecture, unalloyed by any touch of the ogival style, triumphed for the first time in the great gate of the Arsenal, which in later years was adorned with statues. At Venice about the year 1433 was born the friar Francesco Colonna, who in his monastery of San Niccolò at Treviso wrote his *Hypnerotomachia*, or Dream of Polifilo,¹ in 1467, a curious and important book with illustrations, which exercised a strong influence on the architectural style which the new age was re-introducing. A whole army of artists then effected the transition from the caprice of the pointed arch to the gravity of the Latin form, though retaining a certain delicacy and grace of idea and of line; and the

¹ *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, ubi humana omnia non nisi somnium esse docet atque obiter plurima scitu sane quam digna commemorat. Cautum est ne quis in Dominio Ill. S. V. impune hunc librum queat imprimere. Venetiis mense decembri MD in aedibus Aldi Manutii accuratissime.*



GATE OF THE ARSENAL



dominant aristocracy, which desired to conceal under the cloak of outward magnificence the first symptoms of incipient decline, availed itself largely of their services to perpetuate its memory in the city of which it was the actual life and soul. Accordingly these artists were called in to restore and to embellish the ancient monuments and to raise new ones, of such sumptuousness that contemporaries and posterity alike were amazed at their splendour.

The people became gradually educated in the presence of these magnificent monuments of art, and the episode of the festival in honour of Cimabue's Madonna in Florence, which gave its name to the Borgo Allegri, was in Venice a thing of daily recurrence, for the people are always proud of new buildings which go to adorn their city.

When, on March 12, 1496, at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, opposite the Scuola di San Marco, the monument to the Condottiere, Bartolomeo Colleoni of Bergamo, who had left to the State a large sum of money on condition that a memorial should be erected to him on the Piazza di San Marco, was unveiled, Sanudo tells us that *tutti lo andoe a veder*. The equestrian statue roused the greatest admiration for Leopardi, who had made it; but this artistic enthusiasm quite overshadowed the fame of the warrior, and not a word is said about the general who had so often led Venetian arms to victory. The Republic took no account of individuals except in so far as they went to compose the State; it refused to allow the statue of Colleoni to be erected in the Piazza di San Marco, and in order to fulfil the terms of the bequest recourse was had to an ingenious quibble, and the statue was put up, not on the Piazza di San Marco, but on the Piazza della Scuola di San Marco. In the same way the bridge and calle close to the monument which in our day would probably have been named after Colleoni, were called by

the Venetians after the work of art, *Ponte e Calle del Cavallo*.

To render more complete the triumph of art upon the lagoon, other States in Italy contributed their most illustrious artificers to swell the current in Venice; and Venice gladly welcomed them and gave them in return a large hospitality. She received with honour whole families like the Lombardi (Solari), who came from Carona, near Lugano, then in the Duchy of Milan. Pietro Lombardo, son of Martino da Carona, was living in Venice in the parish of San Samuele in 1479, and in 1498 was master-mason at the Ducal Palace. Other Lombardi also from Carona, who were living in Venice and belonged to the same family, were the brothers Andrea the painter, and Cristoforo Solaro, called the *Gobbo*, both of whom worked in Venice.¹ But the great master Pietro Lombardo (d. 1515) had only two sons, — Antonio, who died in 1516, and Tullio, who died in 1532, perhaps the elder of the two and father of Santo (d. 1560). From the same district came Sebastiano da Lugano, who made the choir at Sant' Antonio di Castello and the Cappella Guoro at the Carmine; also the Bregni or Brignoni, among whom we must mention Lorenzo (d. 1524), who came either from Richeggia on Lugano or from Osteno on Como, the home of Giovanni Buora (d. 1513), who left two sons, Antonio and Andrea, likewise architects and sculptors. Milan sent Matteo Reverti, one of the creators of the Ca' d'Oro, and Antonio Abbondi, known as Scarpagnino (d. 1548).

As Venice expanded on the mainland, she exerted all her powers of attraction to draw to herself and to protect the artists of her subject cities, who, as it were in return for a benign government, offered their most illustrious offspring to the city of San Marco. The greatest artists of the Venetian provinces either sent

¹ Paoletti, *Rinascimento*, op. cit., p. 233.



MONUMENT IN HONOUR OF BARTOLOMEO COLLEONI

Photo by Alinari

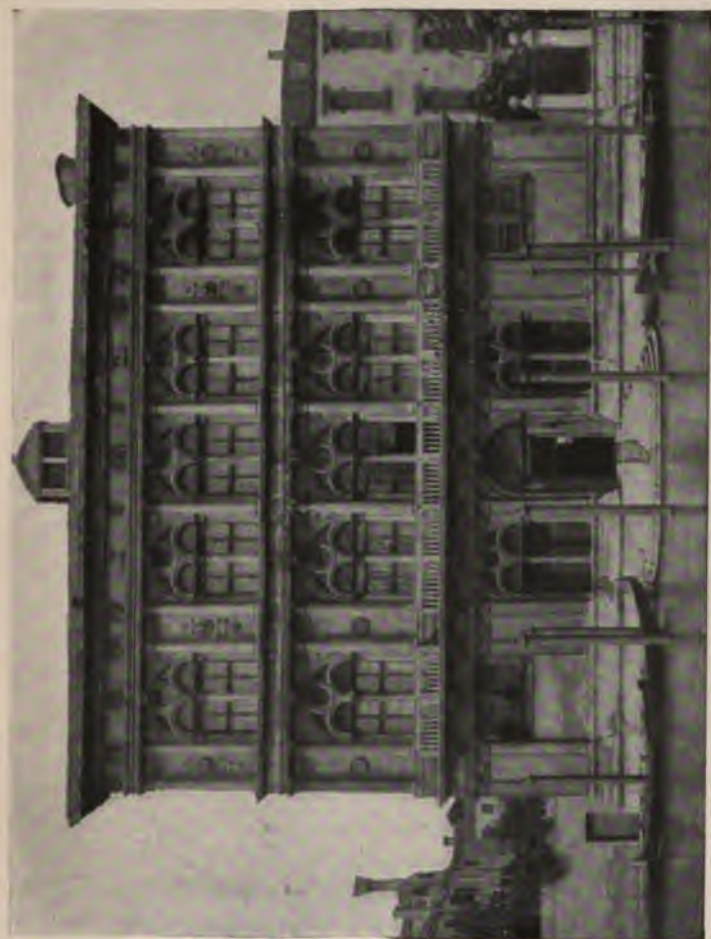


the fruit of their labour to Venice, or had artistic and friendly relations with Venetians. From Treviso we get Vincenzo Catena, Pier Maria, and Girolamo Pennacchi, Paris Bordon, and Zorzon of Castelfranco; Cadore gave Titian; Vicenza, the architects Tomaso Formenton and Palladio, the engraver of gems Valerio Belli, the painters Buonconsiglio, called Marescalco, and Benedetto Montagna, son of the illustrious Bartolomeo da Orzinuovi, Maganza and the Da Ponte of Bassano; Verona lent the architects Fra Giocondo, Sammicheli, Falconetto, the sculptor and architect Antonio Rizzo, the painters Girolamo dai Libri, Morone, Liberale, Cavazzola, Caroto, Brusasorci, Badile, Torbido, Bonifazio, Caliarì, Dario Varotari; from Padua we have Mantegna, Montagnana, Alessandro Varotari, and the sculptors Bartolomeo Bellano and Andrea Briosco; Friuli furnishes Giovanni da Udine, Pellegrino da San Daniele, and Pordenone. Among other lands outside the Veneto but under the banner of San Marco, we may note Brescia, where Romanino flourished (1485-1566) and Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto (1498-1554); also Bergamo, which was a veritable nursery of artists. The architects Bartolomeo Bon (d. 1529), master builder to the Salt Board, Guglielmo Grigi, called the Bergamasco di Alzano (d. 1550), and Mauro Coducci (d. 1504) from Val Brembana, hitherto ascribed to the Solari family, and therefore known as Moro Lombardo,¹ all came from Bergamo; so too did the painters Palma, Previtali, Cariani, Santacroce. Thus Venice drew to her breast the art of all her subject lands, and all shared in the glory of the capital. But in such a wealth of artists it would be beyond our scope to illustrate the work of all.

We have already noted the transformation in the aspect of the city; both San Marco and Rialto were adorned with new buildings. The Veronese Antonio

¹ Paoletti, *Rinascimento*, Part VI, p. 163.

Rizzo (1499), who had built the two façades of the Ducal Palace, one on the Court, the other on the Canal, added the staircase known subsequently as the *Scala dei Giganti*, and the *Arco Foscari*, both of them works which roused and still rouse the greatest admiration. Pietro Lombardo and his sons Antonio and Tullio were the creators of the *Miracoli* (1480), of the Church of Sant' Andrea at the Certosa, now demolished, and of the first courtyard of the *Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista*; theirs, too, are the monuments to the Doges Pietro Mocenigo and Niccolò Marcello in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and the Palazzo Loredan, now Vendramin—Calergi, on the Grand Canal, and the Palazzo Gussoni at San Lio, than which Renaissance architecture has no more florid or magnificent examples. These Lombardi were a family of unrivalled artists who scattered over Venice and other cities of the Veneto the incomparable riches of their designs and of their chisels and gave their name to the Lombardesque style which marks so many buildings of this period, such as the Ca' Dario, the Palazzi Manzoni-Angaran, Corner-Spinelli, Contarini dalle Figure, Grimani at San Polo on the Grand Canal. But of these, as of so many other Venetian monuments of that date, the authors cannot be identified with precision; for it frequently happened that an artist would supply a design and begin a building which was carried on slowly under the direction of other architects who not uncommonly introduced modifications on the original plans. Hence the numerous errors in the history of Venetian art, the confusion of names, or the ascription to a single master of work that was due to the labour and ability of many. Documents recently brought to light enable us to restore to their proper authors the façade of San Zaccaria (1457-1515), a large and imposing creation of Anton Marco Gambello, and Mauro Coducci; the magnificent *Scuola di San Marco*, the work of Pietro Lombardo,



THE PALAZZO VENDRAMIN-CALERGI



Giovanni Buora, and Mauro Coducci; the Scala Contarini dal Bovolo, designed by Giovanni Candi, a Venetian, which is a copy of the Leaning Tower at Pisa, but excels it in beauty by the curve of its staircase and of its arches.¹ The Scuola di San Rocco, in which one knows not whether to admire more its solidity or its lightness, was designed by Bartolomeo Buono (1517) and completed by the Milanese Antonio Abboni, called Scarpagnino, and by Sante Lombardo. The façade on the Campo shows a pure and broad design and is a veritable triumph of art; the façade on the rio is equally impressive, though inferior on the whole. Inside the staircase and halls are adorned by magnificent works of art, among them the masterpieces of Tintoret's imagination.

In the region of the intellect there was manifest a youthful exuberance. Every mind, every intelligence, even the dullest, lay open to the influence of art, and that not in one aspect only, but in all its varied multiplicity of forms. The Venetian Battista Franco (b. 1498, d. 1561) was at one and the same time both painter, draughtsman, engraver with the point and with the burin, designer of fêtes and theatrical representations; and with facile if not always happy touch he would pass from his work on great altarpieces and vast compositions in fresco to the graceful figures and minute grotesques with which he decorated the Scala d'Oro of the Ducal Palace. Giacomo Franco, (b. 1550, d. 1620), perhaps a relation of Battista, engraver and editor of books, had his shop in the Frezzaria at the sign of the "Sole." He wrote learnedly on art, and his plates representing the festivals, customs sacred and profane, costumes, palaces, are precious documents for the history of art and of dress.

¹ For the monuments of the Renaissance in Venice see Paoletti's *Rinascimento*, already quoted, and Bode's notes to the *Cicerone* of Burckhardt. The first edition of the *Cicerone* was published at Basel in 1855.

Francesco Marcolini, born at Forlì, but a Venetian by long residence, was a protean genius. He was not only an excellent printer, but a no less excellent draughtsman, engraver, goldsmith,¹ and antiquarian, an architectural expert, so much so, that Sansovino selected his design for the wooden bridge *longo sospeso in aiere*,²

. . . onde Murano
Guarda Vinegia, credo dei divini
Che fece con ingegno sovrumano,
L'ingegnoso Francesco Marcolini.³

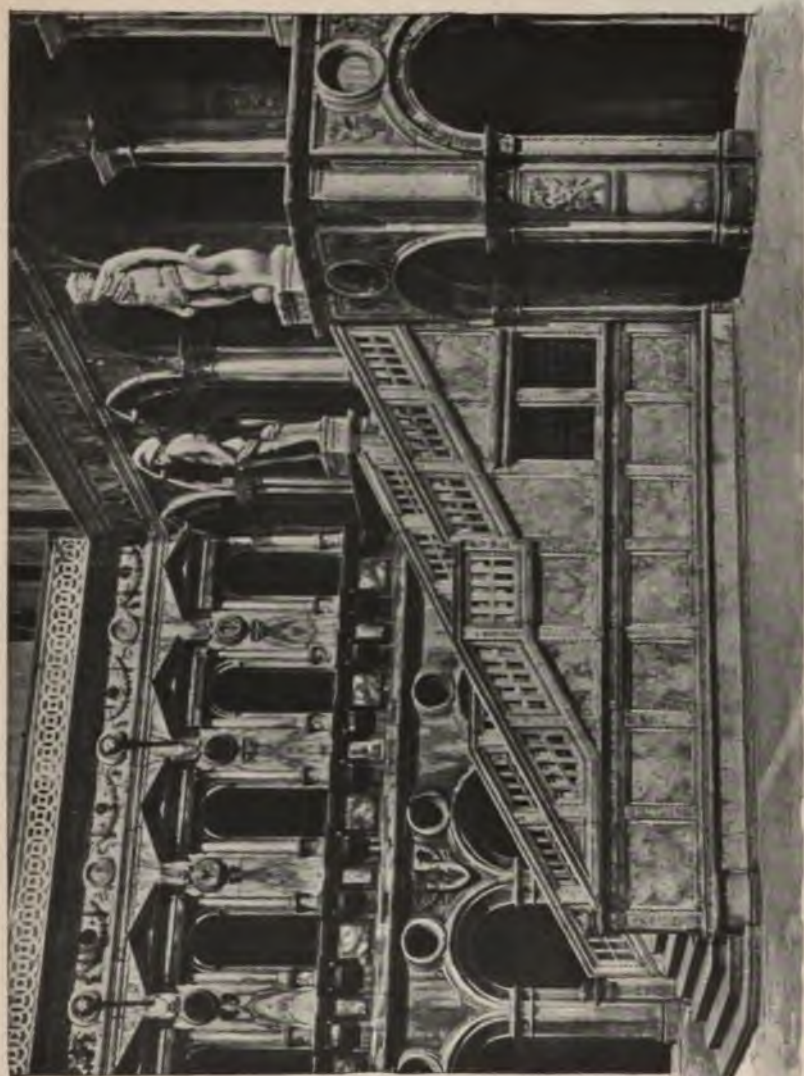
Even more striking examples of versatility are offered by the careers of some great artists who were not only sculptors, painters, and architects, but also engravers and metal founders. The painter Giovanni Bellini modelled the medallion of Mahomet II, and Leopardi, the author of the equestrian statue of Colleoni, was also architect of Santa Giustina at Padua,⁴ in company with Brioso, and acted as master die-sinker and *aurifex* in the Mint. The architect Antonio Rizzo, who carved the beautiful statues of Adam and Eve (1492?) in the Ducal Palace, shows himself both architect and sculptor of merit in the monuments to the Doge Tron and to Giacomo Marcello at the Frari; and the Lombardi proved their supremacy in the sister arts. Pietro and his sons, Antonio and Tullio, are the authors of the altars to San Jacopo and San Paolo in the transept of San Marco, of several sculptures at San Giobbe, of the two statues of San Paolo and San Girolamo in the

¹ Cicogna (Iscr., VI, 928) transcribes this note from the journal of the Sacristy of Santo Stefano: "Francesco Marcolini ridusse l'Orologio nel campanile di S. Stefano a 12 ore."

² Calmo, *Lettere*, p. 67.

³ Brusantini, *Angelica Innamorata*, Canto XXIX, strophe 64-65. L'abate Vinc. Zanetti (*Guida di Murano*, p. 97. Ven. 1866) says, but without quoting authority, that the bridge was not made in 1545 by Marcolini, *ma vanta un'epoca più antica*. The beautiful wooden bridge was demolished in 1886, and an iron bridge called after the Vivarini took its place.

⁴ Baldoria, *Il Brioso e il Leopardi, architetti di Santa Giustina* (in the *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, Anno IV, fasc. III. Roma, 1891).



THE GIANTS' STAIRCASE

church of Santo Stefano, and of the sculptured ornaments in the Miracoli, all modelled with incomparable elegance and richness of design without overloading or exaggeration of the embellishments. Tullio Lombardo, along with his brother Antonio, completed the church of San Salvatore, begun by Giorgio Spavento. He also made and decorated the greater part of the Cappella Zeno at San Marco, and executed the tombs of the Doges Andrea Vendramin and Giovanni Mocenigo at SS. Giovanni e Paolo. His, too, are the bas-reliefs of the *Incoronazione* in San Giovanni Grisostomo; the angels on the font at San Martino; two busts in the Archæological Museum in the Ducal Palace; the sepulchral monument of Guidarello Guidarelli at Ravenna; the five chimneys in the private chambers of the Doges and the frieze of the doors in the Equerries' room at the Palace, as well as the larger part of the sculpture on the façade of the Scuola di San Marco, than which nothing fresher or more genial or more masterly can be imagined. Antonio Lombardo, a workman of most delicate quality, designed the noble bronzes of God the Father and of the Virgin della Scarpa in the Cappella Zeno at San Marco; they were cast by Giovanni Alberghetti and Pietro Campanato. The architect Jacopo Sansovino is the creator of the colossal marble statues of Mars and Neptune which give its name to the giant staircase, and also of the graceful Madonna in terra cotta which was preserved in the Chamber of the Loggetta; his too are the bronze statuettes of Minerva, Apollo, Mercury, and Peace on the façade of the Loggetta, and the bronze statue of Tomaso Rangone, which Burckhardt compares to a portrait by Tintoret.

But should one desire to appreciate the beauties of architecture and of sculpture in union, let him study the monument to Bartolomeo Colleoni. On a sober, clean-cut, graceful pedestal stands the equestrian statue of the Condottiere, modelled and cast with all that

certainly of touch which characterises a great idea flowing from the imagination of a great poet. Andrea del Verrocchio was engaged on this statue when death cut him off, in 1488, and the work was finished in 1496 by Leopardi.

By the middle of the sixteenth century architecture was devoting itself more and more to the imitation of ancient Roman monuments. Vitruvius reigned supreme, and even artists of the highest genius carried to excess the order and frigid regularity of the classical style. This taste inspired in a special degree three Venetian masters, — Fra Giocondo, who was summoned to the lagoons in 1500 to carry out hydraulic works and fortifications; Giovanni Maria Falconetto, who, according to Vasari,¹ introduced into Venice the true principles of building; and Michele Sammicheli, military architect to the Republic, who constructed the noble fort of Castel Sant' Andrea at the Lido, the Palazzo Corner at San Polo, and the grandiose pile of the Palazzo Grimani at San Luca. These works display that Venetian magnificence which Jacopo Sansovino understood still better how to express, for in his case, at least, the worship of the past did not debar him from innovations in the proportions of the architraves and in the development of the orders, nor from conveying that individual imprint which he bestowed upon each building, whereby the purpose it was meant to serve was revealed at a glance. Sansovino designed the new Scuola of the Misericordia, the interior of San Francesco della Vigna, the Fabbriche Nuove at Rialto, the Palazzo Corner and the Palazzo Manin on the Grand Canal, the monuments to Venier and to Podacataro at San Sebastiano. But his most striking works arose in the neighbourhood of San Marco: the façade of the now demolished church of San Geminiano, opposite the Basilica; the two giants on the stair of the

¹ Vasari, *Le Vite*, etc., edit. Milanese, V, 322. Firenze, 1880.



THE LIBRARY OF SANSOVINO

Palace; the Loggetta with its statues, swept away by the fall of the Campanile; the Mint, sombre; austere, and massive; lastly, the Libreria. When Sansovino died in 1570, the Library was still unfinished. It was completed by Vincenzo Scamozzi, of Vicenza, who also carried on Sansovino's design in the Procuratie Nuove. The sumptuous pile of the Library, which Palladio thought the *pù ricco ed ornato edificio che forse sia stato fatto dagli antichi in quâ*, was adorned by sculptures from the chisel of Danese Cattaneo, son of Pietro da Salò, of Tommaso Lombardo, of Girolamo di Ferrara, of Girolamo Campagna, of Giovanni Grapiglia, of Francesco Chiona, of Camillo Mariani, of Virgilio and Agostino Rubini,¹ and others.

Less bold than Sansovino, more faithful to the architectural maxims of the classical period, Andrea Palladio designed the churches of San Giorgio and of the Redentore, the façade of San Francesco della Vigna, the Convent of the Carità, and other buildings; graceful yet imposing, but too severe in their symmetry, too correct, too studied. Venice was no fit theatre for the measured art of Palladio, which found itself more at home among his native hills, where the surrounding landscape helped to modify the impression of rigidity, and the style assumed a suavity of composition and of line, a serene nobility of form, bringing repose to the mind and satisfaction to the eye. Venice, on the contrary, created by man, reflects the imaginative audacity of man even in her architecture, which is mobile, varied, and fantastic, like the colours of sunset, or the shimmer on the waters of the lagoon. Such an art could not find favour with the Vicentine master, who shrank from all that was capricious or fantastic.

The Venetian Da Ponte was the architect of the severe but vigorous prison buildings at the Ponte della Paglia, the bridge at Rialto, and the great hall of the

¹ Arch. di Stato, Proc. di San Marco, *De Supra*, Libro Cassier.

Tana, at the arsenal. But his chief claim to merit lies in the fact that he saved the Ducal Palace from an outrageous restoration. On the night of December 20, 1577, fire *dalli camini di alcume stantie de scudieri del Ser^{mo} Principe*,¹ spread through the Palace with terrible fury, destroying the Sala dello Scrutinio and the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, in which the paintings of Gentile da Fabriano, of the Vivarini, of Carpaccio, of Titian, of Pordenone, of Tintoret and Veronese, all perished, and the whole building was seriously damaged. The Senate consulted various architects on the subject of restoration, among others Palladio; had their advice been accepted, the glorious Palace would have been ruined forever, for those masters, enamoured of the classical style and not understanding the play of fancy which marks the style of the Middle Ages, submitted a purely romanesque design for an entirely new dwelling for the Doge. By good luck among the fifteen architects consulted there was one who expressed the opinion that in carrying out the restorations not a moulding, not a line, in the original plan should be modified. The Senate prudently adopted the advice given by Da Ponte, and in eight months he carried out the restoration with the profoundest respect for the audacities of construction and the marvellous fantasy of design which characterise the Ducal Palace and make it a building unique in all the world.

And here we may be pardoned a digression on the topic of fires, which at that period were of a ruinous character, partly because so much wood was used in construction, partly because the means for putting them out were so defective. The Ducal Palace itself was frequently devastated. We may give a condensed account of a fire taken from Sanudo's Diaries, though it would be better read in the vigorous simplicity of the original dialect.

¹ Arch. di Stato, *Ceremoniali*, I, p. lxiv, t^o.



(A)



(B)



(C)

STATUES BY SANSOVINO IN THE LOGGETTA.
 A — Madonna and Child with S. Giovannino.
 B — Peace. C — Minerva

On the night of August 16, 1532, fire broke out in the Malombra Palace at San Maurizio. This palace had lately been bought for twenty thousand ducats by the Procurator Giorgio Cornaro. The house was a splendid pile, the finest in Venice and one might even say in all Italy; it was lordly, magnificent, and commodious, and in a few hours it was burned to the ground. The cause was not unknown. The Cornaro family owned the famous commandery in Cyprus, and thence had been sent many cases of sugar and of cotton. To dry the sugar in the storerooms, braziers were lighted, and the servants forgot to put them out completely at night. The beams caught fire from the heat, and about five o'clock in the morning, when all were sleeping, the flames burst out with terrible fury. Some passers-by saw the smoke, and gave the alarm by thundering on the door; but the household was sound asleep. The doors were at last burst open, and everybody lent a hand to carry the gold and silver and strong boxes full of specie over to the houses of the Zorzi and the Malipiero, and to throw out of window the heavier furniture and the bales of cotton and sacks of sugar, while the women and children ran distracted through the chambers, where many had entered to help in putting out the flames and many more to rob under cover of the confusion. Most of the property which had belonged to the Queen of Cyprus was either burned or destroyed, along with many pictures, a famous marble Roman bust that was in itself worth a fortune, and the rich decoration of the apartment of Francesco Corner, Bishop of Brescia. One brave man having climbed up, through flames and smoke, to the garrets, was unable to return and had to come down by means of a rope. The façade fell with a tremendous crash, burying three men¹

¹ Sanudo, *Diari* LVI, 792: "26 agosto, 1532. Da poi disnar fo Pregadi. Fu leto una suplication de una madre, de un Alvise de Simon di l'Arsenal qual è morto al incendio di Chà Corner, et ha 7 sorelle e il padre vivo, et fu posto per tutto il Colegio che soldi l'avea al zorno al Arsenal oltre li soldi 6 siano dati a la madre per il suo viver."

and seriously injuring a fourth. The crackling of the beams, the crash of falling masonry, the cries of the people, were mingled with the sullen pealing of the bells of Santa Maria Zobenigo, San Vitale, and San Maurizio. "Io verso nona" — proceeds Sanudo — "havendo grandissimo dolor e tanto che più di dir non posso, s' per il privato che questa casa è mia amicissima, sì per il pubblico che è la più bela caxa de Venezia . . . andai per barcha per canal grande . . . a veder il fuoco, qual erra sì grande e di tanta bampa che mi spaventai . . . da poi andai a cha Malipiero da ser Giacomo Corner a confortarlo dicendoli: *Deus dedit, Deus abstulit.*" On the borders of the noblest waterway in the world next morning there was nothing to be seen but the black and smoking ruins of the magnificent building; not a stone remained in its place save the pillars of the entrance from the canal and two walls, so shaky that it terrified one to look at them. The Cornaro family immediately began to rebuild the Palace, and entrusted the work to Sansovino, who raised the imposing edifice we admire to-day, in which the splendour of Renaissance art, now at its maturity, already shows some sign of decadence.

At the close of the Cinquecento architects had become more and more devoted to the antique and were therefore confined to the monotonous repetition of the same motives. This provoked a natural revolt against the rules of Vitruvius, and builders began to break up the lines, to pile on moulding, to confound the orders, to curve the cornices, to twist the columns, to cover the angles and edges with volutes, projections, ornaments; thus, in a word, opening the way to the irregularities and caprices of the barocco style.

So too in sculpture the example of Michelangelo, who had pushed his art to a point where only his superhuman genius could sustain and govern it, was followed by Sansovino and his pupils, who, in revolt against servile imitation of the antique, went to the



THE FAÇADE OF THE CHURCH OF S. ZACCARIA (1457-1515)

opposite extreme, and did violence to the due serenity of art by letting fancy run riot, and by wringing from the marble figures characterized by unnatural pose, convulsive movement, and flying drapery. Among Sansovino's pupils we must mention Pietro da Salò, and his son Domenico; Francesco Segala; the Paduan Zotto; the Carrarese Danese Cattaneo, who carved the Apollo on the well in the cortile of the Zecca; Girolamo da Ferrara, author of the bas-reliefs of the Loggetta, and Tiziano Minio, who, with Desiderio of Florence, modelled the cover of the font at San Marco. In the midst of this debasement of taste, Alessandro Vittoria, a native of Trent, distinguished himself by the richness of his fancy; he bent his talent to the most delicate work, but also at times allowed it to run riot in the strangest fashion. His architectural achievements, such as the Chapel of the Rosario at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the Scuola di San Girolamo at San Fantin, Palazzo Balbi on the Grand Canal, appear to us poor in spite of their elaborate ornamentation; but his stuccoes on the ceiling of the Library and on the vault of the Scala d'Oro are bold in design and display the vigour of an impatient genius; they are carried through with a rapidity of execution that recognises no obstacles and goes in search of difficulties, that shrinks before nothing that is bizarre provided it be bold and novel. Vittoria proves himself an able artist in his portrait busts, remarkable for their fidelity to life and their excellent modelling. Vittoria's followers, like Tiziano Aspette, author of the colossal statue in the atrium of the Mint standing opposite the more correct work of his fellow-pupil Girolamo Campagna, lacked their master's genius, exaggerated his defects, and dragged his art into the wildest excesses.

It was painting, however, rather than architecture or sculpture, which really reflected the life of Venice during the Renaissance.

The artistic sap, so fresh and rich in Jacopo Bellini, flowed not merely through the family tree in the persons of Gentile and Giovanni, but spread through all branches of the Venetian school. The bright light of Jacopo's genius, and the less vigorous but no less pure glow of Antonio Vivarini, penetrated even the humblest workshops, and fired some lively intellect who then and there began his novitiate to art. Thus from the little school of Lazzaro Bastiani (d. 1512), which held its modest way between the pupils of Vivarini and of Bellini and preserved the native traditions, there emerged, as it would seem, that great artist Carpaccio and two other worthy companions, Benedetto Diana and Giovanni Mansueti, both of whom later on drew towards the Bellini.

Giovanni Bellini, *el più eccellente pittor d'Italia*, as Sanudo calls him, exercised a stronger influence on Venetian painting than any other master, and his teaching set the standard and gave the direction to numerous followers, among whom we may mention Francesco Bis-sólo, Niccolò Rondinelli of Ravenna, Cristoforo Caselli of Parma, Lattanzio of Rimini, Andrea Previtali, Girolamo da Santa Croce, Pier Maria Pennacchi, Vincenzo Catena, Bartolomeo Veneto, and many others, who, if not directly pupils of the Venetian master, at least came under his influence, such as Bartolomeo Montagna, and Giovanni Bonconsigli, called Marescalco, both from Vicenza, Boccaccio Boccaccino of Cremona, and another Lombard who still hides his name and whom we have agreed to call the pseudo Boccaccino. Giambellino's latest pupils were his most illustrious, — Palma il Vecchio, Lorenzo Lotto, and the two giants Zorzon da Castelfranco and Titian. The genius of Giovanni Bellini did not wane with advancing years; every work of his brush is stamped with a nobility and grandeur truly Latin, a repose that is never ruffled, that elevates and illuminates all he produced, a sentiment at once profound and sincere.



THE Madonna and the Child surrounded by
SS. Giobbe, Giovanni Battista, Sebastiano,
Francesco, and Ludovico. Altar decoration
by Giovanni Bellini (1479?) for the Church
of S. Giobbe. (Venice, Academy)

When Albert Dürer came for the second time to the lagoons in the year 1506 and left the imprint of his artistic point of view upon the work of Venetian painters, more especially upon that of Giambellino, the German master wrote thus to his friend Pirckheimer: "I wish you had an opportunity of being here. I am sure the time would not hang heavy on your hands, for there are many able men and true artists in this city."¹ These were the artists who mark the almost imperceptible change from the old epoch to the new. Each of them seems to possess a double personality, the one looking with longing eyes to the future, the other dwelling with affectionate gaze upon the past. In the pictures of Gentile Bellini, of Benedetto Diana, of Giovanni Mansueti, of Vettor Carpaccio, the most genial transcriber of Venetian life, we note a certain aspect of things, a certain arrangement of the externals of life, which belong to the Middle Ages; but on the other hand the style of the dress, the furnishings of the house, the monuments, the architecture, betray the new movement, and convince us that the artist is already living in a new world. In fact, we no longer get the old rigidity of form, but in its place movement and warmth, the joyous imprint of the time and place, a life full, serene, graceful, and yet at the same time we note a strange blending of another sentiment which would appear to be opposite and contradictory, an intimate sense of sweetness, a winning shyness which both in art as in life is frequently synonymous with sincerity. The study of life which these artists approach with passion seems stamped with a timidity which in the expression of feeling retains a flavour of the Middle Ages.

Painting in the Quattrocento, which was not yet master of all technical means, and preserved a childlike

¹ Thausing, *Dürer-Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*. Leipzig, 1876.

simplicity which is very attractive, had received a new and notable impulse from the method of oil painting which Antonello da Messina learned from the Flemish painters, at that time numerous in Italy. He cannot be said to have introduced it, for it was already known, but he certainly brought it to perfection in Venice when he went there towards the close of 1474 or at the beginning of 1475. We have already observed that the artists of the Trecento, born mid the luminous sky and waters of the lagoon, were fully alive to the spirit of colour, though their mastery of form was still imperfect; and colour grew ever more vivid, more harmonious in the hands of painters in the following century, who, with the help of the new technique, were able to educate their eye and their imagination to grasp the vision of buildings which reflected the splendours of the Orient, the movement of form in the *fêtes* of the city, the infinite variety of costume and of dress. And so not only in the pictures of Carpaccio and of Gentile Bellini do we get the luminous splendour of their home, but also in the divine Madonnas of Giambellino, in the pensive saints of Bartolomeo and Alvise Vivarini, of Cima da Conegliano, and of Marco Basaiti, the gorgeous robes, the crimson brocades, the shot silks are but a reflection of the dazzling sumptuousness of Venetian life. Later masters could add but little to this strong yet limpid harmony of colour, though they changed and transformed the aim of art at the opening of the Cinquecento.

The primitive period of painting, so attractive in its naïve realism, in the modesty and simplicity with which it expressed placid pleasure and calm suffering, pursued its natural course till it blossomed into the animation and grandiosity of movement, the superb grace and triumphant portrayal of an abundant life, in the masters of the Cinquecento, whose works were studied and judged by the eyes of those who made them and of



THE Madonna and SS. Liberale and Francesco — a painting by Zorzon da Castelfranco in the Cathedral of Castelfranco. (c. 1500)



3



4

5

6

7

8

9

10

contemporaries who ordered them and appreciated them, not by the eyes of those who to-day consider and interpret, at the distance of centuries and in obedience to the sentiments of their own age, these creations of a genius which flourished in the full flowering period of beauty and of delight.¹

The first to free himself from the early timidity was Zorzon da Castelfranco, who in the midst of the allurements of carnal beauty managed to preserve a lofty and poetic sentiment. His life is veiled in mystery; but the joys and sorrows which agitated this mighty spirit are laid bare in his imaginative work, which by a strange but hardly ridiculous analogy have won for him the title of the Byron of painting.²

Following this marvellous painter, who seems to have had in his soul the echo of two centuries, there opens the period of joyous sensuousness. The artists of the Cinquecento, with the exception of a solitary thinker here and there, show us the most seductive aspects of life and a youthful play of the senses without bestowing too much thought on the inner meaning of things. It may be that any commotion of their spiritual natures would only have injured the art of these masters, which grasped to the full all external beauty, and rendered it with a magnificent certainty of effect which was lacking in their naïver predecessors and was degraded in their followers of a corrupter age. They studied, above all, the more obvious and striking pictorial effects, grace of pose, bold foreshortening, all the contrasts and play of light and shade. They did not aim at ideality or at profundity of thought; they paid no attention to historic accuracy, content to be true to the object before their eyes; and whatever be their subject, their models are the nobles in their gorgeous robes and

¹ Wölfflin, *Die Klassische Kunst. Eine Einführung in die Italienische Renaissance*. Monaco, 1901. Hillebrand, *Le problème de la forme dans les arts figuratifs*, trad. Paris, 1903.

² Davesiés de Pontés, *Ét. sur la peint. vén.*, p. 51. Paris, 1887.

the women of the golden hair, their setting sumptuous banquets and splendid festivals. Even in sacred pictures one would take them to be pagans who painted these Christs and Madonnas, these angels and saints; and the sublime sorrows of Christianity are transformed into a smiling and graceful mythology, wherein we meet with visions of joy, the gaiety of life, the consecration of all the pleasures which mind, eye, or hand can wring from art. The age desired no more, or, to be more accurate, it would have demanded from art seductions more potent still. Pietro Aretino, that great cynic, is a proof; he writes to the Marquis of Mantua promising to secure from Sansovino "Una Venere sì vera e sì viva, che empia di libidine il pensiero di ciascuno che la miri," and from Sebastian del Piombo a picture of a beautiful new subject, not one of the ordinary sacred subjects, but "senza hipocrisie, nè stigmati, nè chiodi."¹

Titian may almost be taken as a living type of the age. He comes before us, dominating as a genius, magnificent as a king. "Fu il più bello e maggiore imitatore della natura," says Vasari; and in truth never was painting richer, stronger, more veracious than in the hands of this master colourist. No one has ever more faithfully rendered the tremors of the body, the delight of the senses; but all play of intimate feeling is banished from Titian's work, and he vibrates to the passionate worship of the beautiful alone. The pulsing of the heart, the struggles of the mind, never arrest the painter for a moment; he is content to reproduce with matchless mastery the life of the senses as dominant over the life of the spirit. He has the repose of strength; a mind that neither listens nor interrogates, and accepts life as it is, without attempting to sound its mysteries. That is not to say that he

¹ Cf. Luzio, *P. Aretino nei primi suoi anni a Venezia e la Corte dei Gonzaga*.



Sacred and Profane Love, by Titian (1508).
(Borghese Gallery)

could not read the hearts of men ; some of his portraits, like some by Tintoret and Lotto, give us in masterly fashion the character of their subject. But in order to achieve this result these artists required leisure for close converse with their sitters, uninterrupted by the press of daily life. Then indeed they could produce a portrait of such striking ability, free at once from meticulous attention to details and from superficial indifference, cutting right down to the spirit of the man with such subtlety of psychological intuition that their brush recalls to us the searching portraiture we meet with in the despatches of the Venetian Ambassadors.

Titian reigns like a sovereign over the glorious company of artists, his contemporaries : Sebastian del Piombo, the happiest follower of Giorgione ; Palma il Vecchio, a supreme artist in some respects, especially his drawing, in which he surpasses Titian himself ; Bonifazio, who can only be really studied at Venice, where his genius and his mastery in colour appear in full splendour ; Lorenzo Lotto, one of the few who attempted the expression of character, especially in some of his portraits, notably in that of the Bishop de' Rossi in the Naples Museum ; the Trevisan Rocco Marconi, who worked from 1505 and felt the influence of Palma and copied his transparent colouring ; Pordenone, vigorous as draughtsman and painter ; Schiavone, remarkable for his rich impasto ; the two Brescians, Romanino, full of imagination and strong in colour ; and Moretto, a rapid workman though never slovenly, and master of the great portrait painter Moroni, born at Bondio in the territory of Bergamo about 1525 ; Paris Bordon, in whose pictures, notably in the "Fisher's Ring," we catch an echo of the sumptuous atmosphere of Venice ; Bassano, the faithful interpreter of field life ; and so on, — a veritable army of geniuses, who one and all possessed the sense of colour, though not all were masters of form.

Among Venetian artists of this period Tintoret displays the highest imagination, and in some of his pictures he is the supreme draughtsman; Paolo Veronese is the most attractive colourist. He is indeed the poet of Venetian pomp, the lyrist of light and colour, the most varied and luminous interpreter of an art that sought to express splendour and beauty. Gaiety is the note of his genius, a gaiety that willingly lends itself to fancy and caprice. On his canvases thought, feeling, emotion, are transformed into plastic grace of marvellous beauty, into a consummate reproduction of all that is external and that appeals to the senses. He creates a world of varied delight; seductively voluptuous women, chubby children, smiling, with smooth brows, strong men and blond youths, downcast glances, eyes of flame, white breasts and rich brown skin, dwarfs and giants, princes and courtiers. His pictures are so skilfully composed, so fresh is the tone, so harmonious the colouring, that one can fancy nothing more attractive, brilliant, joyous.

Amid all the attractive manifestations of this art which satisfies the eye but does not touch the spirit, Tintoret alone, that vehement and passionate soul, gives us side by side the luminous splendour of the heavens and the terror of profound and dark abysses. In some of his pictures, the "Bacchus and Ariadne," for example, the light is diffused over the water in a thousand ripples, all is charged and palpitates with joy; in others, as in the "Miracle of Saint Mark," dramatic energy and skill in painting unite in a sublime harmony; in others again, as in the "Crucifixion," a livid light breaks through the clouds, the air is full of a deep dejection, the tragic spirit is the master's strongest inspiration. Innumerable and varied images seem to have been born ceaselessly in Tintoret's tumultuous brain. With him there died that breath of supreme beauty which had passed over the art of Venice.



The Miracle of S. Marco, by Tintoretto (1548).
(Venice, Academy)



In Venetian painting of the Renaissance, from the earliest masters to the last of the Cinquecento, it is remarkable that the protagonist of the scene is hardly ever an individual, but the crowd. Some of the religious pictures of the Quattrocento and some portraits of Titian, Tintoret, Lotto, and other masters of the Cinquecento do suggest a concentration of interest in a single figure; but in pictures representing historical subjects where many figures are introduced no one of them particularly arrests the attention, and the eye wanders satisfied over the joyous throng with all its variety of colour and of movement. The pictures of Carpaccio and Bellini give us Venice as their protagonist, — Venice in her public pomp and ceremony laying the Orient under contribution for her splendour and her colour; in the works of later masters we catch an echo of the gaiety of the Venetian populace. The Florentine masters, even when their subject is complex in composition, usually fasten the attention upon some leading personage; the Venetians, on the contrary, give us a general picture of a crowd in which no single, isolated figure is dominant. This difference may, perhaps, explain why from the very first the charming scenes of Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio met with such favour, while Mantegna, in whose work the crowd is a mere accessory, and the individual isolated, vigorous, sculptural, is dominant in a setting of classical arcades and vestibules, found but scanty approval in the lagoons.

There is a wide difference between the whole tone of public life in Florence and in Venice. At Florence a few individuals of special energy or astuteness dominate history and stand out supreme; such were Farinata, Dante, Giano della Bella, Michele di Lando, Lorenzo de' Medici, Machiavelli, Guicciardini. At Venice, on the other hand, the individual was absorbed in the State, which refused independent initiative to the

individual and aimed at co-ordinating the action of each member of the community with the movement of the whole. No personality was permitted to emerge and take up a position hostile to the Republic, lest the light of liberty should be obscured by a throne. The ambitions of the Medici would have found no fitting soil in Venice.

As in public life, so in art. The Tuscan artist with his brush or with his chisel presents us with a clearly defined portrait of the leading men of his day, of his dearest friends or his most loathed enemies; and with such patient care would he study the appearance of these that we find actual portraits of distinguished Florentines included in great pictorial compositions or carved upon public monuments, — for example, Donatello's portrait of Francesco Soderini on the Campanile of the Duomo under the guise of Jeremiah. In the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel we can distinctly recognise the likenesses of Masolino, Masaccio, Filippino, Botticelli, Pollaiuolo. In the duomo at Orvieto Luca Signorelli has introduced the portraits of himself and many of his friends, Niccolò, Paulo, and Vitellozzo Vitelli, Giovan Paulo and Orazio Baglioni. Venetian painters, it is true, sometimes introduce into their pictures the portrait of a patron or of a friend, but these are lost in the general crowd, do not strike the eye at once, and have no particular distinction unless it be where a patrician has caused himself to be painted close by Christ or the Virgin, not as an act of devotion but as a confirmation of his superiority, for the people when worshipping the divinity would at the same time bow the knee to those who ruled the State. As a rule, however, in Venetian pictures the individual is lost in the joyous throng. Thus Venetian art unconsciously expresses the political idea to which the Republic owed her greatness and her independence, — the principle that the individual must be merged in the State.



THE Presentation of the Child Jesus before Simeon
—altar decoration by Carpaccio (1510) for the Church
of S. Giobbe. (Venice, Academy)

CHAPTER VI

THE ARTS APPLIED TO INDUSTRY

WHEN Venice began gradually to lose the profits she had hitherto drawn from her colonial enterprises, she turned to account the development of taste produced by the Renaissance, and both with a view to her own embellishment and also as a source of revenue, she surrounded herself with all the glories of art. One form of art especially attracted her, — that which spread from the studios of Bellini, Titian, and Tintoret, and eventually reached the workshops of the humbler craftsmen, creating a new industry in artistic objects which throughout Italy and more especially in Venice, at that epoch, were the necessary and natural complement to the fine arts. But while in other countries artistic industries appeared as the inevitable but not necessarily mercenary outcome of the study of form and only later assumed the character of a business, at Venice the idea of converting this artistic movement into a source of gain took shape at once under the pressing need created by the decline in commerce and the compulsion to find new sources of revenue and new outlets for industrial activity. In short, in the new condition of affairs Venice endeavoured to become an industrial State, recognising that she was outstripped in maritime supremacy and in commerce; and the industrial movement joined hands with the arts. The supreme geniuses who had adorned the city with monuments, statues, pictures, gladly lent their aid to draw together all the arts which contributed to the embellishment, the comfort, and the needs of daily life in a single

effort of youthful enterprise bent on producing a result that should be at once pleasant to the eye and stately in design. These great masters entered the modest workshops of the wood-carver, the smith, the stone-cutter, the carpenter, the goldsmith, educating them and freely assisting, by counsel, advice, and example, to develop the feeling and taste of the artisan, who under their guidance frequently reached the summit of his profession. The arts were naturally allied to each other, and churches, palaces, statues, pictures, furniture, dress, ornaments, jewelry, display that instinct for beauty which was common to all. Thus Venice developed those noble traditions which led her to consecrate her art to faith and to the fatherland, and to wed a rich, varied, and joyous harmony of design and colour to the trade in objects of luxury considered as a symbol of her greatness. That is why the government never ceased to foster the growth of industries by appointing officers to supervise them and by the concession of privileges of citizenship to foreign artificers who chose to settle in the city.

The industries which owe their value not merely to skill of hand but also to the play of the intelligence are those which are most directly connected with the fine arts. Such, for example, is the craft of the bronze-founder, which becomes a truly noble art when modeler and founder are united in the same person.

The Paduan school of founders influenced Venetian craftsmen for many years. The glory of the Paduan school was Bellano, master of the Paduan Andrea Briosco, known as Crispo in Latin and in Italian by his nickname of Riccio (1460-1532), author of the *candelabrum* in the Santo at Padua, a marvellous play of caprice in which, as in a dream, tritons, harpies, nereids, satyrs, centaurs, are wreathed together. By some, Briosco, and by others Antonio Rizzo, is credited with the bust supposed to represent Andrea Loredan, —

a work of such exquisite modelling that we are forced to conclude that it was wrought from a death-mask. All that was most beautiful and most precious from the foundries of Padua went to enrich the dwellings of Venetian nobles, and those bronzes, great and small, the statuettes, vases, mortars, candlesticks, ink-pots, knockers which are now scattered among museums and the collections of amateurs, all display an originality of design and a vigour of execution which are admirable.

The Venetian master Alessandro Leopardi (d. 1522) possessed still greater grace than the Paduan craftsmen. Leopardi completed the statue of Colleoni, modelled and cast the three bronze sockets for the flagstaffs on the Piazza di San Marco and probably the two massive figures of the Mori on the clock-tower, who strike the bell founded by Simone Campanato and delicately ornamented with the symbolical lion. Leopardi had, as a companion in the mint (1484), Vittore Gambello, commonly called Camelio, sculptor, founder, goldsmith, and dye-sinker. His are the twelve apostles in the choir of Santo Stefano, and the two plaques in half relief, now in the Accademia, which at one time adorned the tomb of Gambello's brother Briamonte, founder and jeweller, as was their third brother, Ruggero.

The door of the Presbytery of San Marco, by Sansovino, and still more the Cappella Zeno, prove the height of excellence which bronze-founding had reached in Venice. Cardinal Battista Zeno died on May 8, 1501, leaving the bulk of his fortune to the Republic on condition that a bronze mausoleum should be erected to his memory in San Marco. The magnificent monument was begun in 1503 and finished in 1514. It stands in the chapel of the Madonna della Scarpa, which it adorns with its statues, friezes, the effigy of the Cardinal, and the altar with its columns, bas-reliefs, and three larger statues. These beautiful works were

designed and modelled by Antonio Lombardo and Paolo Savin, and cast by Giovanni Alberghetto and Pietro Campanato.

The art of bronze-working, so sumptuous in the statues and monuments of Venice, did not lose this characteristic when applied to objects less noble, such as the guns and cannon founded by Alberghetto dei Conti and Campanato, and domestic utensils modelled by distinguished artists like Sansovino and Vittoria. The skilful touch of the chisel vanquished the rigidity of the material, and gave it a plastic softness as of wax in some of the medals and plaques by Matteo da Pasti (flor. 1446, d. 1490), of Sperandio Savelli (c. 1425, d. after 1504), of Giovanni Cavino (c. 1500-1570), of Bartolomeo Gruato (d. 1528), of Domenico Veneziano (flor. 1548), of Valerio Belli (c. 1468, d. 1548), of Andrea Spinelli of Parma (1508, d. 1549).¹

After the middle of the Cinquecento the caprice of artists in bronze surpassed all bounds in the search for new forms. Correctness of outline was held for coldness, and the productions of the bronze-founder's craft became overstudied, fantastic, bizarre. It was Jacopo Sansovino and Alessandro Vittoria who gave this new, capricious, and somewhat degraded imprint to the whole art of Venice, but more especially to the art of bronze-founding. This exaggeration of ornament — always carried out, however, by skilful hands — is illustrated in Vittoria's two candelabras, which were partially destroyed by the fire in the chapel of the Rosario at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and in another candelabra of Vittoria's school (1577) to the left of the high altar at Santo Stefano. We see clearly the change that had come over decorative art after the date of Sansovino and Vittoria if we compare two

¹ Fabriczy, *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance*. Leipzig. Friedlaender, *Die italienischen Schaumünzen des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Berlin, 1880. Armand, *Les médailleurs italiens*. Paris, 1883. Heiss, *Les médailleurs de la Renaissance*. Paris, 1887.



(A)



(B)

A — CANDELABRUM of Alessandro Vittoria (Venice, Museo Civico.) B — Candelabrum of Andrea Baruzzi Salodiano. (Second half of the XVI century.) (Venice, Chiesa della Salute)

works by two Brescian masters: the twin candelabra in San Marco, given to the Republic by Bishop Altobello Averoldi, were made in the early years of the sixteenth century by Maffeo Olivieri of Brescia (b. 1484), they display all the exquisite taste of their epoch; on the other hand, after the middle of the Cinquecento another Brescian from the Riviera di Salò, Andrea Baruzzi, son of Alessandro (b. 1530),¹ modelled and cast the candelabra in the church of the Salute, undoubtedly a work of great beauty, but showing in its design and in its style the new characteristic of caprice.

We must not forget to mention that humble relation of the noble art of bronze-founding, the pewterer's craft, as one of the crafts which flourished in Venice. Trade in Venetian pewter can be traced to an early date, but the craft was not recognised by the State before the year 1432. The *Mariegola*, or by-laws of the guild, now unfortunately lost, contained important information as to technique.² The common objects in pewter, such as oil cruets and canisters, were undorned; but *lavori fini*, such as cups, platters, trenchers,

¹ Fenaroli, *Diz. degli artisti bresciani*. Brescia, 1877.

² The *Mariegola* of the pewterers recorded complaints lodged on July 11, 1480, on account of the debasement of the metal employed. The *Provveditori del Comune* accordingly fixed the standard of the amalgam to be employed in the finer pewter at *lire XXV de stagno fin et in quello colado sia messo la sua tempera che sono unze do de marchizeta et unze do de rame. Item lire sie de stagno vecchio bon e fin. E da poi fonduto tuto insieme. Questa se intenda esser bona et fina karatada*. To prevent falsification it was forbidden to hammer or file old pewter, and the exportation from Venice of the tools and the moulds for working in pewter was prohibited. The craftsmen were bound to stamp the work sent out from their shops *con el suo nome con una Corona di sopra*. On March 9, 1520, the Council of Ten ordered that in place of the crown the stamp of San Marco should be used. Garzoni, in his *Piazza Universale*, gives us some information as to the method of working in tin or pewter. The molten metal was run into moulds of white tufa; the rough cast was then placed on a lathe and finished off with a curved iron. The work was polished by use of a cloth and scouring sand. If the utensil was to be adorned by patterns or figures, the mould was made of clay. The master pewterers were for the most part Germans or Flemings.

dishes, beakers, were embellished with borders and graceful patterns.

The art of the goldsmith, the most refined of all the industrial arts, was notable in Venice for the elegance of its workmanship. Throughout the whole of the Cinquecento German goldsmiths continued to work in the lagoons¹ and held the esteem of their clients; but their art gradually assimilated fresh elements and assumed new forms. An example of this emancipated art is to be seen in a coffer in the Trivulzio collection at Milan; it is wrought in graceful arabesques and is the work of Paolo Rizzo, artist in damascene work, who in 1570 had a shop at the sign of the *Colombina* in the Ruga degli Orefici at Rialto.² Rizzo signed himself *Paulus Ageminius*, and his works were in request among the great people of Italy who desired to possess *cose rare et divine di tal arte*.³ It may be that in this same shop at the sign of the *Colombina*, another Rizzo, called Giovanni, *zoihero*, worked in 1476 for Duke Ercole I, on a great oblong diamond, *fatto a facete legato in una panizuola d'oro*.⁴ In 1574 the jewellers Della Vecchia refused an offer from Henry III of 26,000 golden crowns for a jewelled sceptre made by them;⁵ and about the same date Antonio Pesaro sold to the Duke of Mantua for 1150 ducats a silver

¹ In 1497 "Rigo Exler de Auspurgh todesco gioielliero in Venetia" made for the Marquis of Mantua "due gioielli grandi di capello, uno cum foggia di uccello pulicano, l'altro de una anisella [cum] uno unicorno cum più diamanti, smeraldo, rubini, zaffiri, perle et una granata grande, ogni cosa lavorata alla todescha." Bertolotti, *Le Arti Minori alla Corte di Mantova* (in the *Arch. Stor. Lombardo*, Vol. 5, p. 284. Milano, 1888) mentions a Matteo Costan living at the SS. Apostoli, "orevese de Bolzan, intagliator de pietre pretiose" (Test. del June 21 in the deeds of Girolamo Parto). In 1571 Giacomo Cyinich, jeweller in Venice, offered to the Duke of Mantua a diamond for 3000 crowns. In 1597 we find mention of a certain Guglielmo Helman. Bertolotti, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 310.

² Arch. di Stato di Mantua quoted by Luzio and Renier in their *Mantova e Urbino*, "Isabella d'Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga," p. 305, n. 35.

³ Fioravanti, *Dello Specchio di Scientia Universale*, p. 67.

⁴ Bertolotti, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁵ Della Croce, *Hist. della pubb. et famosa entrata di Henrico III.*

casket, gilded and jewelled with rubies, diamonds, and emeralds. Vases of delicate and graceful form with slender handles, wine-coolers chiselled with coats of arms and devices, bowls of silver gilt worked in repoussé with figures and friezes jewelled and damascened, were turned out from these Venetian workshops. We also find a certain kind of silver known as Venetian, wrought *de relevo a sonde dal canto de dentro, et de fuora tutti bianchi cum figure in uno tondo di niello nel mezzo*.¹ The binding of the Grimani Breviary by Alessandro Vittoria gives us a specimen of Venetian goldsmith's work which had now acquired a purely national character.

Many of these objects in gold and silver were eagerly sought for in France, Germany, and England, but before leaving their native shores they were on view in the goldsmiths' shops in the Ruga degli Orefici at Rialto.² Francesco Sansovino mentions that he saw in the shop of Giovanni Rancato at the sign of the Rose, *una tavola gioiellata di gran bellezza et di prezzo*; and in the shop of Anton Maria Fontana, *una cassa di christallo molto grande, fatta di modo che le cose che vi si ripongono dentro, appariscono tutte scolpite di fuori*.³

Among the host of artificers who never lacked the taste to invent and execute the most delicious ornamentation

¹ Campori, *Racc. di cataloghi ed inventari inediti*. (Inventario di guardaroba estense), p. 11. Modena, 1870.

² In the sixteenth century the Scuola degli Orefici was rebuilt. It stood near the church of San Giovanni Elemosinario at Rialto, and was adorned by a picture by Sante Peranda and by a bronze statue by Girolamo Campagna. The goldsmiths had their altar and sepulchre in the church of San Giovanni Elemosinario. The guild included the following branches of the craft: jewellers, sham stone jewellers, diamond merchants, gem-setters *alla Veneziana*, gem-setters *alla francese*, gold-chain makers, filigree workers, solid gold-chain makers, silversmiths in large and small objects, chasers, repoussé workers, diamond cutters, rock-crystal cutters, cutters of rubies, emeralds, and garnets, casters, enamellers, and engravers.

³ Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare*, with Martinoni's additions, p. 364. Venetia, 1663.

in repoussé, niello, enamel, chasing, engraving,¹ we may recall a few names, Gasparino and Cristoforo Cesani (flor. 1476-1491), Antonio Albrici (1478), Master Pagan (1488), Gian Andrea de Fiore (1496), Domenico de Dominici (1520), Orso, a Jew of Mantua (1524), Vincenzo Rossatto (1528), Felice Ceserin (1528), Vincenzo Levrierio (1532), Lodovico Caorlino (1532), Bernardino dei Morati (1532), Valerio Belli of Vicenza, who won for himself a distinguished name throughout the Veneto as an engraver of gems and crystal. Galeazzo Mondella of Verona, recorded by Vasari as one of the greatest glyptographers of his day, and Nicolò Avanzi, also from Verona, celebrated as a carver of cameos. Avanzi is mentioned by the Anonimo² of Morelli, and Vasari tells us that he had seen a lapis lazuli, *largo tre dite*, upon which was carved a Nativity with numerous figures. Vasari also describes as marvellous the engraved gems produced by the Ferrarese Francesco Annichini who lived in Venice and died in 1545, leaving three sons, Luigi, Andrea, and Calisto, all of whom won renown at their father's craft.

The produce of Venetian goldsmiths' shops, which, besides church plate and personal ornaments, also furnished highly finished arms and armour, found a ready sale, especially in the East, where the Venetian nobles themselves carried on the trade, as we gather from a passage in Sanudo's Diaries which runs thus: "A di 2, luni, ottobre 1531. Noto. Vidi questa matina in ruga de zoielieri in man di sier Francesco Zen di sier Piero, Baylo a Costantinopoli, uno anello d'oro, sopra il qual è uno horologio bellissimo, qual lavora, dimostra le

¹ Paoletti (*Rin. in Ven.*, p. 134) quotes the will of a jeweller, dated 1495, who speaks of *zoie e perle azoelade, di vasi varnidi de avolio e de christallo, de yaspis e de calcedonia, de quari depentj e de musaicho, de saliere doro, de tabernacoli, de corniole.*

² *Notizia d'opere di disegno*, publ. by Jacopo Morelli, and edited by Frizzoni, p. 176. Bologna, 1884.

ore et sono, et quello vol mandar a vender a Costantinopoli." ¹ Solyman II was Sultan at that time, and, unlike his predecessors, he took a great delight in jewels, goldsmith's work, and chased and nielloed armour. Accordingly, in March, 1532, the sons of Pietro Zen, Bailo at Constantinople, and Giacomo Corner, Pietro Morosini, and others entered into partnership and raised a sum of money in order to make a beautiful and costly work of art which they hoped to sell to the Sultan at a large profit. Among the partners interested in the speculation were the goldsmiths themselves who carried out the commission. The precious object was entrusted to the patrician Marcantonio Sanudo to be taken to Constantinople; his expenses were defrayed, and he received a honorarium of two thousand ducats and a monthly allowance. The object was indeed, as Sanudo says, *cosa notanda et di farne memoria*. It was a golden helmet enriched with gems and with four crowns; "et il penachio d'oro lavorato eccellentissimamente, sul qual è ligadi 4 rubini, 4 diamanti grandi et bellissimi, valeno li diamanti ducati 10 milia, perle grosse de carati 12 l'una, uno smeraldo longo et bellissimo . . . una turchese grande et bellissima, tutte zoie de gran precio; et nel penachio va una pena de uno animal che sta in aiere e vive in aiere, fa pene sottilissime et de vari colori, venuto de India . . . val assà danari. Se dice questo elmo, qual è sta fato per venderlo al Signor turco per ducati 100 milia e più." If Marcantonio Sanudo succeeded in getting more than a hundred thousand ducats for the helmet, he was to receive two per cent on the entire selling price as a solatium.² The business was carried to a successful issue, for Sansovino, speaking later on of this famous helmet with the four crowns, adds that it was the work of Lodovico Caorlino and

¹ Sanudo, *Diart.* LV, 14.

² *Ibid.*, 634, 635.

Vincenzo Levriero, and that Solyman "principe di singolar giuditio, et potente come sa ognuno, restò stupefatto di cosa tanto segnalata, et essi ne divennero ricchi."¹

These Caorlini must indeed have been ingenious craftsmen. They constructed a set of wooden automations which, on September 16, 1532, they took to the Palace to show to his Serenity; there was *una puta di legno qual con certa arte camina*, and which won the admiration of the Senators present.² It would seem that Marcantonio Sanudo, though a Senator, did not disdain to traffic in jewels, for on the occasion of his journey to Constantinople another company of speculators entrusted him with the sale of a saddle enriched with gems, also valued at one hundred thousand ducats.³ Cuirasses, helmets, and shields were wrought in damascene by such celebrated masters as Giorgio Ghisi (1554); lances and partisans remarkable for their delicate chasing, swords and daggers with blades and guards adorned with flowers and patterns, stiletos and poniards with ivory handles studded with gems, encased in velvet sheaths, circled with golden bands and embroidered or sown with pearls, were produced by such famous artificers as Vittore Gambello, the inventor of "uno modo novo de far arma de doso zoe curazine, pectorali et armadure . . . le quale stavano a prova et parangone de spada pugnale spedo partesana."⁴ Venetian swords, either triangular or chamfered or pierced, were in great request; so were the famous Venetian morions covered with crimson velvet and decorated in gilded bronze⁵ reliefs; also

¹ Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 363.

² Sanudo, *Diari*, LV, 636.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Supplica* (1509) per privilegio di Vittore Camelio al Senato (in *Bollettino di arti ind. e curiosita Venez.*, 1877, I, 60).

⁵ Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. du mob.*, VI, 257, 273. The royal armoury at Turin has four Venetian morions, — three of plain bronzed iron and one with a crimson velvet cap decorated in gilded bronze with the shield of Tiepolo.

a short, double-edged dagger, with chamfered blade and stumpy handle, called *lingua di bove* or, in common parlance, *cinquedea*.

Attention was directed to perfecting fire-arms which should also be works of art. The Republic itself commissioned its cannon from such eminent masters as Leopardi, his follower Camillo Alberti, and the artists of the two bronze well-heads in the Cortile of the Ducal Palace, Niccolò de' Conti (1556) and the Ferrarese Alfonso Alberghetto (1559),¹ who are styled in the inscription *conflatores tormentorum Illustrissimae Reipublicae*. Mortars in iron, bronze, and copper were decorated with damascene or chasing; muskets and harquebuses had stocks of ivory intarsia; carronades were embellished by reliefs worked out by the burin and aqua fortis.

Certain cities subject to Venice, Brescia for instance, with its Valtrompia, Belluno, Verona, and Serravalle, were world-renowned for arms of matchless temper. At the close of the fifteenth century Brescia contained two hundred armourers' shops inside its walls, and Charles V sent his armour, and Francis I his poniard, to be tempered and chased,² by Martinoni the Brescian. Andrea Ferrara, mentioned by Sir Walter Scott as the most famous armourer in Europe, belonged to Belluno. His family came originally from Fonzaso, and Andrea, along with his brother Giandonato, was master at the celebrated forge of Giambattista Barcellona at Fisterre, near Belluno.³ Venetian armourers wrought also in hammered iron, but Venice does not give us the handsome work that was turned out during

¹ The Alberghetti were famous as founders of cannon and engineers, and we find them employed by the State from 1487 to 1792.

² The three splendid suits of armour which belonged to the Martinengo and the Gambara families, and are now in the armoury at Turin, were made in Brescia.

³ Pellegrini, *Di un armaiuolo bellunese del sec. XVI* (Arch. Veneto, T. X, p. 43).

the Renaissance by Florence and Siena. At Venice they preferred bronze, and the craft of the locksmith was so neglected that the majority of keys came from Germany,¹ and display the ponderous style of the North unrelieved by any touch of Venetian grace. It was not till the end of the sixteenth century that the art of wrought-iron work developed in Venice; apparently the craft came originally from England and had able followers, in France, Spain, Germany, Tuscany, and Milan, skilled at working iron into ornamental forms of various kinds for keys, knockers, or a hundred other objects of domestic use.

Intarsia and carving also displayed richness and variety of form in Venice. To the earlier masters, the Moranzone, Canozii, Cozzi, and Scalamanzo, whose chisels adorned the choir-stalls of the churches and fashioned the severe furniture of the early Venetians, there succeeded other famous artists, such as Paolo Savin, the author of the admirable bronzes in the Cappella Zeno (1507); Alessandro, son of Cristoforo Bregno, who carved the choir of the Carità (1530),² now destroyed; Giorgio Veneziano, author of the choir at Messina (1540), and Bernardino of Venice, frequently employed by the Estensi. In 1572 Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, who had ordered at Venice *un cabinetto ossia studiolo di legno di noce con li suoi ornamenti*, wrote to the Duke of Mantua saying that the Venetian wood-carvers were *molto eccellenti*.³ The austere ornamentation of the Middle Ages grew more graceful under the influence of the new style; oak and walnut, the two favourite woods, were wrought into a profusion of leaves, volutes, masks, satyrs, monsters, chimeras. A delicate specimen of Venetian work of the early Cinquecento is the Ducal chair preserved in the treasury

¹ Urbani de Gheltof, *Les Arts indust.*, p. 259.

² *Notizia d'op. di disegno*, edit. Frizzoni, p. 236.

³ Bertolotti, *op. cit.*, p. 995.

of San Marco. We find the same richness of decoration in the inlaid work of the cabinet-makers. Originally they used little bits of black and white wood to make a kind of mosaic; but when they discovered how to stain wood in various colours by means of boiling oil and paints, intarsia work *alla certosina* was carried to perfection by the Venetians, notably by Fra Giovanni of Verona (1469, d. 1505), the author of many of the doors and seats in the Vatican. Graceful designs were invented for coffers, boxes, seats, high-backed chairs,¹ while the intarsia in the choir of San Marco, begun in 1486 by the Florentine Tommaso Astore, and continued by Antonio and Paolo of Mantua, by the Bergamasque Bernardino Ferrante, by Fra Vincenzo of Verona and Fra Pietro of Padua, have all the softness of painting. Among foreign artists in this craft were the brothers Biagio and Pietra of Faenza, who between the years 1504 and 1507² carved some of the ceilings in the Doge's Chambers, Vittore of Feltre, and Lorenzo, son of Vincenzo of Trent (1519), designers of the ceiling at the Scuola di San Marco,³ Lorenzo of Pavia, who lived for long in Venice and was a first-rate worker in ivory and ebony intarsia,⁴ the Fleming Alberto de Brule, who in 1597 was called in to finish the choir of San Giorgio Maggiore. At the close of the sixteenth century the intarsia of Federico Curelli was in great repute; we hear of "un guarnimento di lettieri, di casse, di tavole, et d'altri arnesi per una camera d'ebano e di avorio con lavori d'oro così peregrini, che è impossibil cosa narrarlo."⁵ Armoires, cabinets, sideboards of handsome designs, were adorned not only with inlaid ivory, but also with friezes and figures of gilded bronze, and with chalcedony, agate,

¹ Jacquemart, *Hist. du mobilier*, Lib. I.

² Lorenzo, *Monumenti*, p. 129.

³ Urbani di Gheltof, *Les Arts indust.*, p. 122.

⁴ Baschet, *Alde Manuce*, lettres et doc. Venise, 1867.

⁵ Sansovino, *Venetia*, p. 364.

cornelian, jasper of various veining, and a dozen other semi-precious stones, let into the wood. The little nuptial caskets, made to contain the dower and the jewels of the bride, now gave place to the great coffers of handsome construction whose fronts were decorated with coats of arms or relieved by ornaments in stucco or with paintings by the best artists, such as Zorzi da Castelfranco, Bonifacio, Andrea Schiavone.¹

Among the industrial arts ceramics hold a high place. Skilled craftsmen from Faenza, Castel Durante, Pesaro, Gubbio, Urbino, were welcomed in Venice. We have a precious monument, probably of faience work, in the highly glazed pavement of Cappella Lando in the church of San Sebastiano, executed in 1510, as an inscription on the tiles informs us. This pavement has three hundred and fifty tiles, which represent flowers, leaves, animals, fish, birds, shields, coats of arms, with much spirit in an arrangement of yellow, white, violet, and green. In the centre is a larger tile bearing the family coat. The famous dishes decorated with mythological subjects preserved in the Museo Civico display all the characteristics of faience,² though they are attributed to Niccolò d'Urbino, who worked at Castel Durante³; they must have belonged to some noble family. All these works are by foreign craftsmen, but native Venetian work carried

¹ Zorzi of Castelfranco painted bucklers, cupboards, bedheads, coffers, adopting usually stories from Ovid. Bonifacio painted "recinti di letto, casse e simili cose poste in uso in quei tempi per delizie delle abitazioni ov'erano figurate istorie sacre e profane." Andrea Schiavone "lavorava molte volte per dipintori da banche, che per antico privilegio del Senato avevano le loro abitazioni sotto ai portici della piazza di San Marco dipingendo nelle casse solite a vendersi istoriette, fogliami, grottesche ed altre bizzarrie." Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, Vol. I, pp. 124, 320, 384. Padova, 1835.

² Argnani, *Il rinasc. delle ceram. maioliche in Faenza*, with an appendix of documents supplied by C. Malagola, p. 48. Faenza, 1898.

³ Molinier, *Venise, ses arts décoratifs*, p. 148. Paris, 1889. Morelli was in error when he thought he recognised the hand of Timoteo Viti in the designs for these plates, which were all intended for a single sideboard.



VENETIAN GLASSES (XVI CENTURY). (PALERMO, FLORIO COLLECTION)



out by Venetian painters (*pictores Maiolicarum*)¹ was not wanting. When faience ware was once introduced into the lagoons, the Venetian fabric soon came to rival the best in Italy. Piccolpasso makes note of it, and gives a drawing of a *Molino di Vinegia per macinari colori*.² In 1545 Francesco Pieragnolo of Castel Durante carried the maiolica of the style of Pesaro, Gubbio, and Castel Durante to such a height of perfection that there is hardly a French inventory of the sixteenth century in which we do not find mention of the *faïences à la façon de Venise*.³ In 1504, in an account of the expenditure of the Duke of Ferrara, we find noted, *L. 2, per chudelles sette de porcellana contrafacta di Venezia*.⁴ Some years later, in 1578, a certain Leonardo Peringer, *spechiarius in Marzaria*, declares that he has found *uno novo artificio per fabbricare ogni sorte de porzelane*⁵; and in the same year Isabella d'Este made her seneschal, Alfonso Trotti, send her some cups (*piadenelle*) from Venice. We have, however, but scanty notices of Venetian manufactories and artificers. South Kensington Museum possesses a very fine plate which has this inscription on the bottom, *In Venetia in contrada*

¹ A certain Girolamo is so styled in the will of his wife, dated January 15, 1531; *uxor magistri pictoris maiolicarum* (Deeds of Giacomo de Grigiis); a proof that a whole class of maiolica painters existed.

² *I tre libri dell' Arte del vasaio* by Cav. Cipriano Piccolpasso, of Durante (1548), first published in 1857 by the Stabilimento tipografico of Rome, under the editorship of Monsignor Antonio Caiani from the MS. belonging to Professor Raffaelli d'Urbano, which was afterwards sold in England. Piccolpasso thus speaks of Venetian ceramics: "Vinegia lavora la terra di Ravenna, e di Rimini, e di Pesaro per la migliore. Vero è che spesse volte operano di una sorte che si cava alla Battaglia" (p. 1).

³ Molinier, op. cit., p. 150. Lacroix (*Les arts au moyen âge*. Paris, 1879, p. 64) says: "Venise se fit une célébrité par ses faïences légères à reliefs repoussées." Under Henry III two workers in faience obtained leave to open a manufactory at Lyons, after proving that they possessed "la cognoissance et experiance de faire la vaisselle de terre façon de Venise." La Ferrière-Percy, *Une fabrique de faïence à Lion*, p. 9. Paris, 1864.

⁴ Campori, *Della majolica e della porcellana di Ferrara*. Modena, 1871.

⁵ Urbani de Gheltof, *Studi int. alla Ceramica Ven.*, p. 38. Venezia, 1876.

de Sto. Polo in botega de m. Lodovico. In the Fountain collection there is another on which is represented the fall of Troy; it has this inscription *Fato in uenezia in Chastello 1546*; a third plate in the Brunswick collection says, *1588 zener Domenigo da Venecia feci in la botega al ponte sito del andar a san polo.* In the Museum of Sèvres there is a cup which must be Venetian, as it has the following inscription: *R. da madre suor zuana, 1596.* The potters lived in the parish of San Polo, where, as we have seen, Masters Lodovico and Domenigo resided, and where a certain Guido Merlino, *vasaro da Urbino*, had his shop.¹ The art declined with the close of the century, but recovered soon after.²

Venice acquired still further glory from her glass-works, which reached their highest point during the Renaissance, so that the fame of the glass-blowers of Murano was known all over the world side by side with the names of the great Venetian painters. The art of the glass-workers, always especially favoured by the Republic, was divided into six branches, — the glass-blowers, *fiolai* (*fioleri*, *verrieri*, *fornaseri*), the crystal-makers, the looking-glass makers, the cutters of glass rods for beads, the bead-makers, and the glass-sellers. In the sixteenth century the craft of the glass-rod cutters gave rise to another branch (1525), the *supialume*, so called because the artisan worked with a lamp and a blow-pipe. This invention was due to Andrea Vidaore, who by this means made striped beads of various colours. Neither mould nor lathe was employed to produce those beautiful but fragile works of art which have all the charm of spontaneity. The red-hot mass of glass poured out of the furnace and was picked up with the end of a long blow-pipe.

¹ Molinier, *op. cit.*, pp. 162, 166.

² Davillier, *Les orig. de la porcelaine en Europe*, pp. 76, 77. Paris, 1882.



VENETIAN GLASSES (XVI CENTURY). (PALERMO, FLORIO COLLECTION)

The workman blew out a great glass bubble, and then with spatule and pincers, but without mould or compass or model, he wrought the glowing mass into light and graceful cups, vases, chalices, flowers, which took a ruby, emerald, or opal tint as the glass cooled. Fra Felix Faber, in his *Evagatorium* (1480), says: "Non trovansi invero oggi nel mondo così preziosi vetrami, quali ivi (*i. e.*, at Murano) tuttodi si fabbricano, nè artefici tanto industri che di fragil materia formino vasi di cotale eleganza da vincer quasi al paragone quelli d'oro, e d'argento e quelli tempestati di gioie." Sabellico¹ tells us how the glass was formed into chalices, carafes, cups, bowls, candelabras, ornaments of innumerable forms and varied colour, while Garzoni adds: "che non è cosa immaginabile al mondo che col vetro et col christallo non si operi, essendosi fatto fino a' castelli con torri, bastioni, bombarde et muraglie, come nell' Ascensa talvolta si è visto."² Leandro Alberti, when praising enthusiastically the beautiful art of Murano, records that among other objects he saw "una misurata galea, lunga un braccio, con tutti i suoi fornimenti, tanto misuratamente fatti, che par quasi impossibile che di tal materia tanto proporzionatamente si siano potuti formare . . . e un organetto, le cui canne erano di vetro, lunghe da tre cubiti (dico le più lunghe) condotte tanto artificiosamente alla loro misura, secondo la proportione sua, che datogli il vento et toccati i tasti da' periti sonatori, si sentivano sonare molto soavemente."³

The workshops of Ballarin, Dalla Pigna, Mocetto,⁴ De Laude, Cattani, and Licini, turned out glass both

¹ Sabellici, *De situ urbis Venetae*, p. 26. Lugduni, Vander, 1722.

² Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 541.

³ Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, p. 464. Venezia, 1553.

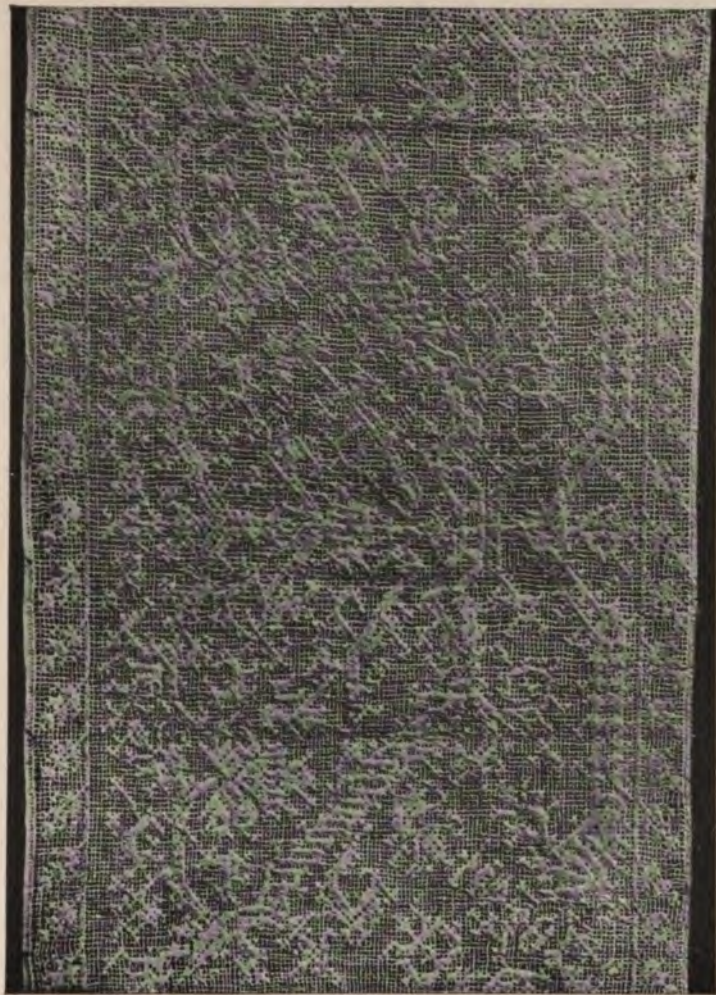
⁴ The painter Mocetto, a pupil of Giambellino, painted the windows of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; he belonged to a glass-worker's family at Murano; as early as 1435 we have notice of a *Ser Antonius Mozetus vitriarius de contrata S. Stephani de Murano*. Paoletti, *Racc. di doc.*, fasc. II, p. 20. Padova, 1895.

white, coloured, filigreed or covered with imitation lace or with enamels ; and with a fusion of gold enamel they imitate goblets of agate, chalcedony, emerald, jacinth, and other precious stones.¹ Indeed the imitation of gems reached such perfection that the government, anxious for the repute of the Venetian market, forbade the manufacture, sale, or use of false stones by a law of April, 1487, reinforced on October 27, 1638. It was the workshops of Murano that supplied the little cubes of coloured glass and the gold enamel which Vincenzo Sebastiani, the priest Crisogono, the brothers Zuccato, Marco Luciano Rizzo, Alberto Zio, Vincenzo and Domenico Bianchini, Bartolomeo Bozza and Marini, employed when executing the mosaics of San Marco from cartoons of the great masters. Murano, too, furnished mirrors in the rough which were sent into Venice to be polished by the *specchieri*, who had two *scuole*, one at the Gesuiti, the other at San Giuliano. But the art of mirror-making reached its perfection only at the opening of the Cinquecento,² and in 1507 the brothers Dal Gallo presented a petition to the Council of Ten for a monopoly in *specchi de vero cristalin, cossa preciosa et singular*.

The artistic industries which employ the needle and the loom were also characterised by their refinement. Venetian lace was, of course, renowned in the city which was the cradle of the lace-makers' art and which gave patterns to all other nations. We cannot, however, assign to it an earlier date than the middle of the sixteenth century, for it is a common error to confuse lace, properly so called, with the more ancient embroidery. The traditions of embroidery never died out, and we have splendid specimens to this day, for example in the stoles of the two copes at San

¹ Scoto, *Itin. ouero descrit. dei viaggi princip. in Italia*. Padova, Bolzetta.

² In October, 1506, the Marchioness Isabella d'Este Gonzaga ordered in Venice *specchi di cristallo bellissimo*. Bertolotti, *op. cit.*, p. 1009.



VENETIAN Lace of the early XVI century — Drawn-work
(a fili tirati). (Florence, Ristori Collection)

1

2

3

Pantaleone (sæc. XV) and at the Frari (sæc. XVI), and the standard of the Congregation of Priests of San Polo (sæc. XVI). *Bernardo recamador* designed the ornamentation on the robes of cloth of gold which Louis XII of France gave to the church of San Marco in 1486; and the verses of the humanist Giovanni Aurelio Augurello¹ record a certain Perulla whose needle rivalled the brush. Besides embroidery in appliqué we get embroidery in gold and coloured silks; at the beginning of the fifteenth century this gave way to embroidery with thread on canvas, which was then cut out (hence the name *punto tagliato*), and this again gave rise to the *punto in aria*, which is lace properly so called.² The galloons which adorn the dresses of some of the figures in pictures by Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini are embroideries, not lace; and such must have been the Venetian laces of the Queen's golden mantle³ at the Coronation of Henry III of England (1483). Tradition tells us that the art of lace-making, the daughter of embroidery, received a strong impulse from the Dogaressa Giovanna Malipiero (1457), though there is no documentary evidence to support the statement. It is not till we come to another dogaressa, Morosina Morosini, wife of the Doge Marino Grimani (1595), that we hear for certain of direct patronage. The Dogaressa erected, at her own charges, in the parish of Santa Fosca, a workshop for making *merletti et altre curiosità*, supplying all the instruments required for the industry, in which about one hundred and thirty hands were employed under the *mistra* Cattina Gardin.⁴ From this school came the laces that adorned the robes of the great ladies of the various European courts; and these

¹ Pavanello, *Un maestro del quattrocento* (G. A. Augurello), p. 142. Venezia, 1905.

² *Origine ed uso delle trine a filo di refe*, op. per nozze Costabili-Caselli. Genova, 1864. Seguin, *La Dentelle*, p. 9. Paris, 1875.

³ Palliser, *History of Lace*. London, 1885.

⁴ Urbani de Gheltot, *I merletti a Venezia*, p. 20. Venezia, 1876.

laces were frequently given as presents by the generous Dogaressa. On her death the school was closed, but the industry did not decline; it continued to flourish, especially in the island of Burano.

It is certain that Venice invented needle-lace, and it would seem that it is not in Flanders but in Italy and in Venice that we must look for the origin of bobbin-lace, which was introduced into Germany in 1536 by Venetian merchants. In Venice was printed the first great collection of lace patterns (1557-1559) called *Le Pompe*.¹

But the industry of lace-making must not be confused with the great industries which flourished in the lagoons. It certainly was a vigorous craft, but it never evolved statutes and regulations, nor was it ever erected into a guild. The women of the people independently and in their own houses worked at their patterns; the maidens of the Zitelle on the Giudecca, the nuns in their convents, passed the weary hours in pleating the thread and tying the knots that went to form the graceful fabric which embellished not only robes of priests and church linen, but served also to adorn more mundane beauty. The graceful art was beloved by patrician dames, and Viena Vendramin Nani, wife of the procurator of San Marco, to whom Cesare Vecellio dedicated his *Corona delle nobili et vertuose donne* (Venezia, 1591), was herself famous as a lace-maker and also, *nel farne esercitare le donne di casa sua, recetto delle più virtuose giovani della città*. Innumerable pattern-books were printed in Venice under all sorts of fanciful titles,² and professed to teach how to design, sew, and embroider with thread, coloured silk, gold and

¹ Melani, *Swaghi artistici femminili*, p. 94. Milan, Hoepli, 1891.

² Here for example, is the title which Nicolò d'Aristotele, called Zoppino, gave to his book, published in 1529, *Esemplario di lavori dove le tenere fanciulle et altre donne nobile potranno facilmente imparare il modo et ordine di lavorare cusire raccamare*, etc. In 1537 Zoppino published *Gli universali dei belli Recami antichi e moderni, nei quali un pellegrino ingegno*,



VENETIAN Lace of the late XVI century — Needle-point
(punto a reticella). (Venice, Museo Civico)



silver *qualunque nobile e illustre madonna* and even *qualunque moderato e candido lettore*.

Of needle lace there were various kinds, bearing various names. The *punto tagliato* was succeeded by the *punto a reticella*, in *aria*, *il burato*, *il tirato*, *a fiorami*, *a groppo*, *a maglia quadra*, and, above all, *a rosa* or *roselline*, also known as Venice point, which was quickly imitated in France.

Nor was the shuttle inferior to the needle. Towards the close of the Middle Ages and onwards, we find reminiscences of Oriental patterns blending with designs from France and Flanders, and coupling the Arab curve with the lines and bosses of Gothic. The stuffs are covered with heraldic animals, eagles, griffins, lions circled by crowns, interspersed with lilies, and the crossing of the warp and woof give tone and light.¹ In the case of cloth of gold, gold thread, or gold leaf, or gold chasing, was combined with cut out figure-work, and bold borders with lobes, bosses, raised foliage, where the stamped velvet served as background. These stuffs were remarkable for the blending and gradation of their hues; sometimes offering a deep note of colour, sometimes the softest and quietest

si di huomo come di donna, potra in questa nostra età con l'ago virtuosamente esercitarsi. In 1540 Mathio Pagan in *frezzeria* published *L'honesto esempio del virtuoso desiderio che hanno le donne di nobile ingegno circa lo imparare i punti tagliati a fiorami*. He also printed in 1558 *La gloria et l'honore dei ponti tagliati et ponti in aere*. In 1587 the Venetian Federico Vinciolo printed in Paris with Jean le Clerc le jeune, the *Singuliers et nouveaux portraits et ouvrages de lingerie*, containing patterns for lace. The book-seller dedicated the book to Louise de Vaudemont, wife of Henry III. Two other curious books dealing with the same subject are Ostans, *La vera perfetione del disegno di varie sorti di ricami et di cucire ogni sorte di punti a fogliami, punti tagliati, punti a fili et rimessi, punti incrociati, punti a stuora, et ogn'otra arte che dice opera à disegni, e di nuovo aggiuntovi varie sorte di merli, de arabesque, de grotesque e mostre che al presente sono in uso et in pratica*, printed at Venice in 1591, by Francesco di Franceschi in 4^{to}, 40 pages. — Ciotti Giambattista, *Prima parte dei fiori, e disegni di varie sorti di ricami moderni come merli, bavari, manichetti et altri nobili lavori*. Venetia, Francesco di Franceschi, 1591, 4^{to}, 16 pages.

¹ See especially the pictures of Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini.

harmonies. The shuttle copied the brush, and these stuffs take rank with the great works of design; Venetian silk-weavers obtained in stuff effects which seem to belong exclusively to the domain of painting.¹

In the sixteenth century a contemporary declared that the velvets, satins, damasks, taffetas, gold and silver cloths of Venice were *de mazor allezza et più fini et de mazor durata che se li faccia in tutto il mondo*.² Garzoni exclaims: "Chi non vede le meraviglie della seta in questa parte," and he proceeds to dwell enthusiastically on the webs *ad occhietti, a scacchi, ad amandole, a punte di diamanti, rigate, a denticelli, a spina*, the lifelike representations of birds, roses, violets; the imitation Bruges satins, the stuffs of high warp, the velvets with their varied figuring, the satins worked in gold and silver thread, the damasks *con disegni, con groppi, con animali, con rosoni di velluto*, gold brocades, cords, fringes, tassels, tapes, buttons, hose, laces, silk gloves.³ So famous were Venetian velvet, samite, damask, camlets for surface and wear that the silk-mercators of Genoa, with the approval of the Senate, decreed that the Venetian manner of weaving should be adopted.⁴ And Venetian merchants had to face the competition of the Florentines and Genoese in England and in the fairs of Champagne. By the middle of the sixteenth century there was a falling off in the silk

¹ We have examples in the velvet copes (sac. XV) at Pieve di Cadore, which Titian introduces into his picture of San Tiziano; the cope at San Tomà in Venice; the velvet tunic in the Cathedral at Padua; the vestments at San Martino in Venice. See Catalogue of the *Mostra di Arte Sacra*, held during the Congresso Eucaristico of 1897.

² Paxi, Bartolomeo, *Tariffa de pezi e misure*, etc. Venetia, per Albertin di Lisona, 1503.

³ Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 909.

⁴ *Quamvis in camocatis predictis externis (i. e. Venetian) non ponantur plus seta quam in nostris . . . accidit quod quarto fili sete qui in camocatis ponantur magis stringuntur tanto opus videtur speciosus*. Arch. di Stato, Genova, *Capitoli dell'arte della seta*. In France they made an imitation Venetian silk in the seventeenth century, known as *Vénitienne*. Havard, *Dict. de l'ameublement*.

trade, and yet it yielded five hundred thousand sequins annually.¹

Venice also took a leading part in the wool-trade. The by-laws of the guild are preserved in the Museo Civico; the manuscript contains miniatures which show us the artisans at work in long gowns with close sleeves and a cap and hood.² The craft had many *scuole*, but its chief centre was at San Simeone Grande, where the *Camera del Purgo* sat. This was an office composed of wool-merchants who tried questions which might arise between the various manufacturers and supervised the quality of work.³ Venetian webs were *de mazor durata et de mazor altezza et mazor braccia de brazza*⁴ than any other in Italy; and Marino Cavalli, Venetian ambassador at the Court of France in 1546, was able to say, when speaking of the Genoese, Tuscan, and Lombard wool-trade that "Il loro lavoro è tutto sul gusto dei francesi, cioè fanno stoffe, che hanno poco prezzo e minor durata. È proprio ciò che conviene ai francesi che si annoierebbero a portare lo stesso abito troppo tempo." Garzoni says: "I panni sono col diritto, col rovescio, a pelo, col contropelo, a filo, e sono gallinati, tondi, fini, bassi, alti," etc.⁵ Even more in demand were Venetian felts, flannels, kerseys, serges, tweeds, camelots, friezes, etc. This industry, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, turned out twenty-eight thousand pieces a year and gave employment to twenty thousand hands.

The silk and wool industries lent a great impulse to the dyer's trade. The Venetians always loved bright colours. Venetian scarlet and crimson, and indeed

¹ Filiasi, *Mem.*, T. VI. Down to the fall of the Republic the *scuola* of the silk-mercers was at the Misericordia.

² Museo Civico, *Mariegoles*, n. 129.

³ The *Camera del Purgo* took its name from the place where the webs were cleaned. In the middle of the sixteenth century it was removed to the *fondamenta della Croce*, and remained there till the fall of the Republic.

⁴ Paxi, *op. cit.*

⁵ Garzoni, *Piazza*, p. 756.

Both painter and weaver were associated in the art of tapestry-making, which was introduced into Venice by the Flemish in 1422, and carried on during the sixteenth century, chiefly by foreigners.¹ Although tapestry was in great request, it cannot be said that the industry, of which we find no traces, either in by-laws or in guild, was really flourishing at Venice during the Renaissance, though we do hear now and then of an arras factory in the city.² It is certain that some of the great Venetian artists made cartoons for tapestry; and the famous arras work designed for the halls of the Imperial Palace at Brussels, when Charles V. returned to that city to open the States General in 1531, is said to be from drawings by Titian and Tintoret. But, as a matter of fact, these tapestries, which are now in the Museum at Naples, were woven by Flemish women from cartoons by the Flemish painter, Van Orley. The tapestries once in the church of the Angeli at Murano and now in the Museum there, are also Flemish; they represent scenes from the life of Christ, and have the arms of the Grimani, Tiepolo, Giustinian, and Barbaro families. Flemish, too, are the tapestries given to San Marco by the Doge Gritti in 1533; and the basilica acquired, in 1551, other hangings woven at Florence by John Rost, from designs by Sansovino. The tapestries which Bianca Cappello gave to one of the Tiepolo family were also made in Florence; but the twenty-five magnificent arrases in the Palazzo Martignengo, eleven of which represent the triumph of Scipio, eight the battles of Cæsar, and six country sports, came from the looms of Brabant. They belonged originally to the family of Zen at San Stin, then to the Michiel, at

¹ The first manufactory of high warp tapestry, called arras, was opened at Mantua in 1419, the second at Venice in 1422, by John of Bruges and Valentine of Arras. Urbani de Gheltof, *Degli arazzi in Venezia*. Venezia, 1878.

² In 1597 Alfonso of Ferrara ordered the tapestries for his palace from a Venetian maker. Campori, *Arazzeria Estense*, p. 87. Modena, 1876.

the SS. Apostoli, and passed to the Palazzo Martinengo, now Donà delle Rose.

The industry of stamped leather-making, on the contrary, was always a flourishing one in Venice; Cordova, Venice, and later on Ferrara¹ were the chief centres of production. In the seventeenth century trade in stamped leather yielded about one hundred thousand ducats a year to the State; there were upwards of seventy shops employed in the business, and the artisans formed a branch of the guild of painters. The prepared skins, chiefly sheep or goat skins, were stamped and ornamented with figures, arabesques, flowers, foliage, arms, and cognisances, worked with hot irons in low relief. Stamped leather was used not merely for decorating rooms but also to cover chests and coffers, and was fashioned into casques, bucklers, quivers, with the lion of San Marco stamped on them, surrounded by graceful designs; veritable works of art and yet in use by common soldiers, so universal was the taste for beauty.²

At this period the triumphs of industry are, in fact, triumphs of art; industry becomes artistic without ever losing its characteristic note. The artisan is the companion of the artist in the production of works of art, even if he does not share in the glory, and the artist, after training the artisan, received in turn most invaluable assistance. Everywhere the eye was trained by the sight of beautiful objects, bronzes, goldsmiths' work, glass, carving, intarsia, lace, stuffs. If we look more especially at the splendid fabrics still preserved in the churches of Venice, — the silks sewn with thread of

¹ Campori, *Sulla manifattura degli arazzi in Ferrara*, speaks of the stamped leather of Venice. In the *Atti dei Procuratori di San Marco* we find the following names: 1484 Angelus magister coreorum aureatorum — 1496 Marco dei cuori d'oro — 1540 Matio de li cuori — 1560 Isaac dai cuori d'oro — 1590 Andrea Giacomo e Francesco cuori d'ori — 1597 Donna Ortensia fa cuori d'oro.

² Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

gold, cloth of silver bossed with gems, white satins with gold embroidery, red velvet with figures in silk and gold, silver brocade worked in gold and silk flowers, — we find the secret of the charm exercised by the gorgeous Venetian school of painting. The continual contemplation of these stuffs with their colours, now vivid, now delicate, which blend and fuse in harmonious accord, taught Venetian artists how to combine in one triumphant symphony the most varied and vivid hues. And even now, after such changes of fortune, the taste for colour is still alive in the people of Venice, and especially in women's dress they are able to unite in delicate unison tints of the most opposite values.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF VENETIAN ARTISTS

THE private lives of many of those great artists who adorned Venice by their chisel or their brush are known but imperfectly and inexactly. Vasari's "Lives" are an authority not to be trusted, especially in the case of artists born outside Tuscany; Carlo Ridolfi, in *Le maraviglie dell' arte*, is sound as long as he is speaking of contemporaries, but not equally so when dealing with the earlier masters. Baldinucci, Zanetti, Lanzi, Rosini, Gualandi, Bernasconi, and other critics, already out of date, add but little to our knowledge. We get new and more reliable information about the careers of Venetian artists from the work of modern students who by diligent research have brought to light many documents hitherto unknown. Nevertheless masses of ancient documents still await discovery and illustration in order to throw light on the story of men whose ability and genius are fully recognised, but whose family history still remains obscure.

The domestic life of almost all the Venetian artists of the early Renaissance is completely unknown to us and it is with a certain intimate pleasure, as of some personal touch, that we read even the bare name painted in the corner of a picture or traced by the pen on some stained and time-worn deed.

Of the two Vivarini, Bartolomeo (b. 1430, d. 1499) and Alvise (b. 1444, d. 1502), we know next to nothing. The birthdays of the two Bellinis are in doubt.

Some maintain that Gentile the elder, called after Gentile da Fabriano, his father's master, was born about 1426; others place his birth some years later. The birth of Giovanni has always been attributed to the year 1428.¹ These two brothers, though they lived independently, had the highest regard for each other, and each proclaimed the other as his superior.² Both were commissioned to decorate the Ducal Palace, and in 1474 both obtained from the Republic, *in premio delle so fadighe*,³ a broker's post in the public Exchange—an office which brought in a large income and implied freedom from taxation, a revenue of one hundred and twenty ducats a year, and a commission to paint the Doge's portrait for twenty-five ducats. The studios of the two Bellinis were so famous in their day that requests for admission as pupils flowed in from all quarters. We have an example in a letter from Elizabetta Morosini, wife of one of the Frangipane, Lords of Veglia, who, writing on May 11, 1471, to her brother Marco in Venice, says: "pregemo caramente vui messer Marco chel ve piaqua per la amicitia qual intendemo che havedi con zentil over zuane belin depentori astrenzerli per tal modo che i vogliano in-segnar la rasom del disegno a pre domenego nostro."⁴

¹ Cantalamessa, *L'arte di Jacopo Bellini*. Venezia, 1896. The author maintains that Gentile cannot have been born in 1426, because his mother, Anna, made her will in Venice when in danger of her life owing to her first childbed; therefore Giovanni, the second son, cannot have been born before 1430. Professor Laudedeo Testi is not, however, of opinion that Anna's will proves the birth of both Gentile and Giovanni to have taken place after 1429. The statement of Cantalamessa and others arises from a mistaken interpretation of the will, for they go on the supposition that the will is speaking of a first childbed; but this does not appear to be the case in the passage *residuum omnium bonorum meorum dimitto filio meo vel filie . . . hac presenti mea gravitatione*, for here the testatrix speaks of the residue of her property, the remainder of which may have already been divided among elder children; and this interpretation is confirmed by the phrase *hac presenti mea gravitatione*, as distinguished from previous accouchements.

² Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell' arte*, Vol. I, p. 84.

³ Malipiero, *Annali*, P. II, p. 663.

⁴ *Nuova Arch. Ven.*, T. II, p. 382.

Giovanni Bellini lived at Santa Marina,¹ Gentile at San Geminiano. Gentile left Venice for Constantinople when an orator *Judeo del Signor Turco* came to beg a good painter and a bronze-founder from the signory. Bellini was sent *con le gale di Romania, e la Signoria li pagò le spese e parlò adì 3 settembre 1479*.² With him went two bronze-founders from the shop of a certain Bartolomeo.³ Gentile was cordially welcomed by Mahomet II and painted several portraits of the Sultan.⁴ He also adorned the royal apartments with scenes of gallantry in which the Sultan, the Koran notwithstanding, took delight, for he was a learned and intelligent prince who passed his days between war, the cares of government, study, and the pleasures of the harem. Gentile spent fifteen months in Constantinople, painting portraits, and making studies and drawings, from among which, however, we must exclude the sketches of Theodosian's Column, now in Paris, as they in all probability belong to the sixteenth century. Before leaving in the later days of 1480, the painter was overwhelmed with honours by the Sultan, who created him a Chevalier and placed round his neck a chain, "lavorata," says Vasari, "alla turchesca, di peso di scudi dugento cinquanta d'oro: la qual ancora si trova appresso agli eredi suoi in Vinezia." This statement invalidates the story told by Ridolfi and others, that Gentile left Constantinople in a hurry after witnessing an atrocious spectacle of which he was the innocent cause.⁵ They say that, Gentile having painted

¹ *Mariegola della Scuola Grande di S. Marco*, under the year 1484, *Zuane Bellin fo de S. Giacomo depentor S. Marina*. See Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, p. 442.

² Sanudo, *Spoglio di cron. Ven.*, quoted by Morelli in his *Notizia dell' Anonimo*, ed. Frizzoni, p. 9.

³ Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. III. Collegio, *Notatorio*, Reg. XX. Quoted by Urbani de Gheltof, *Les Arts Industriels*, etc., p. 66.

⁴ One of these is now in the Layard Collection at Venice. The pictures were all sold on Mahomet's death.

⁵ Thusane, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II*. Paris, 1888. Thusane gives some important information about Bellini, taken from the

a head of John the Baptist, Mahomet did not consider it lifelike, and in order to show the painter how the neck shrank when cut by the sword he caused a slave to be decapitated before them, and pointed out the effect to the artist, who, horror-struck at the sight, hastily took leave of his terrible patron. On his return to Venice Gentile finished various pictures and also the bronze medal of Mahomet. That he was surrounded by the respect of his fellow citizens and honoured by the government, who gave him a pension of two hundred ducats a year, there is no doubt. But it is interesting to note that he did not escape the tongue of the malignant. A poet of wit, but despicable in mind and manners, Andrea Michieli, called Squarzola or Strazzola, in his sonnets steeped in venom, does not spare

lo arrogante
Cavalier spiron d'or Gentil Bellino;

and savagely attacks his painting while lauding *la sublime ed eccellente mano* of his brother Giovanni.¹

Gentile had two wives: the first Caterina Baresani, who made her will on October 18, 1494, and died soon after; the second, whom the painter married when he was well on in years, was called Maria, *filia quondam domini Antonii Trivisani dicto Gaban*, as we gather from her will dated October 20, 1503. Gentile mentions his brother (*fratrem meum carissimum*), and Maria Gaban (*consortem meam dilectissimam*) in his last will, which he dictated to the notary Bernardo Cavanis on February 18, 1507. The master, *corpore languens*, after devising a sum for the good of his soul, bequeaths various pictures to churches and Scuole, all his sketches made in

MS. of Angiolello, of Vicenza, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It is entitled *Historia Turchesca di Giovan Maria Angiolello Schiavo et attri schiavi, dall'anno 1429 fin al 1513*. Angiolello was in the service of Mustafa, eldest son of Mahomet II.

¹ Rossi, *Il canzoniere inedito di A. Michieli, detto Strazzola*, pp. 47, 48. Torino, 1895.

Rome to his two apprentices, Ventura and Geronimo;¹ the famous book of drawings by his father Jacopo to his brother Giovanni on condition that he should finish Gentile's incompleted pictures in the Scuola di San Marco.² Gentile died on February 23, 1507, and was buried in the *cimiterio Sanctorum Joannis et Pauli*, near the Scuola di Sant' Orsola, in the tomb of the Di Giorgi family. Giovanni at once fulfilled his brother's wish, and on March 7, 1507, he came to terms with the Scuola di San Marco to finish *con la medema condicion e pati, el teller principiado non compido*, which is now in the Brera and represents Saint Mark preaching in Alexandria, — a work of the highest importance, as it contains portraits of the brother artists; Gentile is in a yellow, and Giovanni in a red robe. We also have the likenesses of the two brothers in two medals by Vittore Camelio.³ The so-called portrait of Giovanni Bellini by himself in the Uffizi does not appear to be authentic, nor yet the portraits of the brothers in the Louvre, once attributed to Giovanni and now restored to Gentile; the portrait of Giovanni by himself in the Gallery of the Capitol at Rome commands greater respect.

Giovanni Bellini has left us this warm profession of faith, written by his own hand on the throne of the Madonna in the sacristy of the Frari: *Janua certi poli, duc mentem, dirige vitam, quae peragam comissa tuae sint omnia curae*. If, as we must believe, the words are sincere, we see that the deep religious sentiment which inspires his art was, in truth, the guide of his whole

¹ Ludwig, *Artisti bergamaschi in Venezia* (Suppl. to Vol. XXIV of the *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1903), holds that this Geronimo is the painter Girolamo da Santacroce of Bergamo, who married in 1515 and lived in Venice at Sant' Antonino in the Casa dei Preti, sottoportico dei Preti, behind the church of San Giovanni in Bragora, till his death on July 9, 1566.

² For Gentile's will and other documents relating to the pictures in the Scuola di San Marco, see Molmenti, *Studi e ricerche di st. e d'arte*, pp. 126 et seq. Torino, 1892.

³ The original design for this medal is in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale.

life. But religious sentiment was not his sole inspiration, for Giovanni also painted the mundane beauty of Venice, as we learn from a sonnet by Pietro Bembo, who, before the portrait of his mistress, exclaims in terms of gratitude :

Credo che 'l mio Bellin con la figura
Ti abbia dato il costume anco di lei.

Nor did the great painter refuse to represent the triumphs of his native city, especially in the Halls of the Ducal Palace. Under the influence of Zorzi da Castelfranco and of Titian, he allowed himself to be seduced by the new and sensuous movement in art, and in the last years of his life produced the "Banquet of the Gods," a work full of mythological deities and drunken bacchantes, and the licentious "Bacchanal," two pictures which Bellini did not finish and to which Titian gave the last touches. But the gentle painter of Madonnas really preferred his dreamy religious visions to such scenes of carnal voluptuousness, and this may perhaps explain why he never even began *una historia o fabula antiqua*, which the Marchioness Isabella d'Este Gonzaga commissioned him to paint for her famous studio which she was decorating with pictures by Mantegna, Perugino, Lorenzo Costa, and Correggio. The commission was conveyed in 1501, through Michele Vianello, a great connoisseur and collector, who gave Bellini *per ara et parte* twenty-five gold crowns. But the artist, though professing himself *dezideroso de servir* the Marchioness, could never bring himself to begin, because, as he himself said, he was disturbed by the thought that his work would be matched with that of Mantegna, such was the esteem in which he held his brother-in-law. But the true reason for the delay which irritated Isabella into writing that she would no longer *sopportare tanta villania quanto ha usata cum lui Zo; Bellino*, must be sought

in the temperament of the painter himself, who set to work on a profane subject from antiquity *tanto male volentieri quanto dir si posi*. As a matter of fact, Lorenzo da Pavia, a skilful carver, and Vianello were charged by the Marchioness to give Bellini no peace till he had finished the work; Lorenzo writes thus to the Marchioness in August of 1502: "Cerca al quadro che doveva fare Giovane Bellino, non mai à fato niente, non è mancato perchè M. Michele et io non l'abbiamo sollicitato, ma io sempre pensai che non lo farebe . . . lui non è omo per fare istorie, e ne dà parola de fare, ma non fa niente, e acìò che lui avesse causa de farlo, io ho uno mio amico poeta, valente uomo, e così lo pregai me trovase qualche istoria che fosse assai facile per fare sudito quadro . . . ma me pare ne volia far niente." Pietro Bembo, who may possibly have been the *amico poeta*, on the contrary, writes to the Marchioness from Venice to say that Bellini is disposed to do the picture and adds: "La invenzione, che mi scrive V. S. che io truovi al disegno, bisognerà che l'accomodi alla fantasia di lui chel ha a fare, il quale ha piacere che molto signati termini non si diano al suo stile."¹ But the Marchioness had to give up the idea of a classical subject and to content herself with a *Presepìo con la Madonna, el nostro S^r Dio, S. Isep, uno S. Joanne Baptista et le bestie*. The artist made his patroness wait a considerable time even for the *Presepìo*; but on July 2, 1504, he wrote to announce that the picture was finished, and *flexis genibus* to implore pardon for the long delay, which was to be ascribed to his *innumerabel occupation e non ad oblivion*; "pregando," he goes on, "el signor nostro Dio, che se in longezza de tempo non ho cusì satisfacto alla prefata S. V. como era de mente de quella; *saltim* in essa opera rimanga contenta; la quale però se non cusì

¹ Gaye, *Carteggio inedit. d'art.*, II, 71, 76. Firenze, 1840.

satisfacesse ala immensa sapientia, e praticha le l'antenderan la S. V. lo attribuischa alla tenuità del debel saper mio; ala quale *humiliter* mi ricomando et offerischo." The noble lady replied that she had pardoned all shortcomings, and added: "s'el quadro de la pictura che aveti facto corresponde alla fama vostra, come speramo, restarimo satisfate di vui."¹

Bellini's last work, the "Evangelist Saint Mark," begun in 1515 for the Scuola of that saint, remained half finished at his death, which took place on November 29, 1516. His body was laid beside Gentile's in the tomb at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where two other brothers, Gabriele and Giorgio, also repose.

Marco Basaiti, a painter who bears a close resemblance to Giambellino both in genius and in style, flourished in Venice from 1490 to 1521. We do not know whether he was born in Venice or in Friuli; his family probably came from Dalmatia or Albania.

Venice — not Capodistria as is usually stated² — was the birthplace of Vettor Carpaccio. He saw the light probably about the year 1455; his family belonged to Mazzorbo, and in the fourteenth century settled in Venice in the parish of San Raffaele; they were fishermen and boat-builders, like their ancestors at Mazzorbo. We may point out that the parish of San Raffaele adjoins the parish of San Niccolò, which was the home of the Bellinis' ancestors and of that popular faction called the Nicolotti, all fisher folk descended from that old and hardy breed of Adriatic fishermen from whom Venice drew her early strength, and from whose loins later on came the men who first conferred upon their country the glories of art. We know the date neither

¹ The correspondence between Isabella and Vianello, Lorenzo da Pavia and Giambellino, was published by Braghirolli in the *Archivio Veneto*, T. III, pp. 370 et seq.

² Ridolfi, Zanetti, Lanzi, Sasso, however, gave Venice as Carpaccio's birthplace. Fresh documents confirm their view. See Ludwig and Molmenti, *Vittore Carpaccio*. Milano, 1906.

of the birth nor of the death of Carpaccio; but in 1526 his son Pietro, also a painter, calls himself, in a deed, son of the late Vettore. In 1527 we have a deed executed by Laura, relict of the painter Vettore, in which reference is made to another deed of 1525, at which time Laura was not a widow; it seems, then, that we may conclude that the great artist was dead by 1526. It was not he, but his second son, Benedetto, who settled in Istria; and the earliest date recorded in the life of Benedetto is the year 1537, inserted on a picture of the "Coronation of the Virgin," now in the Town Hall of Capodistria.

Of Carpaccio's life as a painter we have few details. When the master was engaged in painting in the Hall of the Great Council in the Ducal Palace, he received a visit from Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, who, like his wife Isabella d'Este, was an intelligent patron and collector. We hear of this visit from Carpaccio himself in a letter addressed to the Marquis on August 18, 1511.¹ Carpaccio tells the Marquis that one day he had a visit at his shop from an unknown individual who wished to buy a picture of Jerusalem. The price was settled, and the unknown disappeared; Carpaccio made inquiries and found out that his visitor was *Maistro Laurentio*, Lorenzo Leonbruno, painter to the Marquis of Mantua. And so Carpaccio writes straight to the Marquis to say that his name è *dicto Victor Carpatio*, and that the age could not produce a work to compare with his *sì de bonlà et integra perfectione come anche de grandezza*. This naïve expression shows us the artist's mind, conscious of his value and disdaining the affectation of modesty which is frequently hypocritical, or the pride which often passes into vanity.

We have proof of the admiration with which

¹ In the Archivio Gonzaga at Mantua first published by us in *Carpaccio e Tiepolo*, p. 69. Torino, 1885.

Carpaccio was surrounded, in the verses of poets, more especially of one little known Tuscan poetess of the fifteenth century, Girolama Corsi Ramos, whose portrait Carpaccio painted in a picture now lost.¹ But this admiration was sometimes mingled with spite, and Carpaccio, like Gentile Bellini, was made the mark for the vulgar abuse of Strazzóla. Strazzóla, though a despicable character, had managed to secure the protection of a patrician, Alvise Contarini, whom he probably amused with his jests and raillery. Anyhow Contarini commissioned Carpaccio to paint the impudent satirist. Strazzóla, highly flattered at this, published verses in which he offered advice to the painter :

Or poni adunque diligenza e cura
nel dipingermi in catedra sedente
a guisa de chi a Padua ha una lettura,
e che le tempie mie sian de virente
fronde peneia cinte . . .

But Carpaccio, perhaps in agreement with Contarini, determined to play a joke on the malicious poet, and painted him seated in a chair with a wreath not of laurel but of vine leaves, more in keeping with the character of his sitter. Strazzóla took great offence and complained to Contarini, while he attacked Carpaccio in a lampoon in which he heaps insults on the painter and the picture, which is now lost.² But Carpaccio found compensation for the virulence of Strazzóla in the anonymous writer of a roundel beginning thus :

Victor mio charo, di tal nome degno
che dato ti ha virtute : et la natura
judicio ver del tuo sublime ingegno. . . .³

¹ Rossi, V., *Di una rimatrice del sec. XV. — Girolama Corsi Ramos e Jacopo Corsi* (in the *Giornale Stor. della Lett. It.*, Vol. XV, p. 183. Torino, 1890).

² *Canz. ined. dello Strazzóla.*

³ Colasanti, *Due strambotti inediti per Antonio Vinciguerra e un ignoto ritratto di Vettor Carpaccio* (in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, by Thode and Tschudi, Band XXVI, p. 198. Berlin, Reimer, 1903).

At Conegliano, a smiling village of the Marca Trevigiana, well watered and surrounded by vine-clad hills, they still point out the modest dwelling where Giambattista da Conegliano was born, about 1460. His forebears had followed the calling of *cimatori di lana*, or wool-shearers, and Giambattista is called in the documents *q. Petri cimatoris*. Giambattista did not follow the manual calling of his family, but by his ability he ennobled it, and they chose to take their surname from it and called themselves *de Cima* or *de Cyma* or simply *Cima*.¹ Giambattista had a brother called Antonio, and a sister who married a bootmaker of Conegliano called Vendramini. It seems that at the age of twenty-eight Cima went to Vicenza to paint a picture in the church of San Bartolomeo, and thence he moved to Venice with his whole family. By his first marriage he had two sons, Pietro and Riccardo, who became a monk taking the name of Niccolò. His wife, Corona, died, and Cima took a second bride, who gave him three sons, Sebastiano, Riccardo, and Luca, and three daughters, Pellegrina, Corona, and Petronilla. After some years spent in Venice he and his family returned, in 1516, to his native hills; but he did not long enjoy the quiet of country life, for we gather from the valuation rolls of Conegliano that the gentle artist was no longer alive in 1518.²

It would almost seem that these artists of the Quattrocento, whose modest dignity is so strikingly displayed in their work, had resolved to leave to posterity the record of their lives veiled in a mild mystery. It is only later that artists begin to reveal their habit of life and the secrets of their soul with ampler details, though

¹ The painter signs his canvases *Ioanes Baptista Coneglianensis opus*, and never *Cima*. The signature of the picture No. 66 of the Lochis Gallery, at Bergamo, is a forgery; it runs *Batt. Cima Coneglianensis*, MDXV. See Morelli, *Della Pittura It.*, p. 283. Milano, 1897.

² Aliprandi and Botteon, *Ricerche intorno alla vita e alle opere di Giambattista Cima*, p. 38. Conegliano, 1893.

even in the Cinquecento the information is not always accurate. Thus it happens that the caprice of biographers has gathered round the life of Zorzi da Castelfranco a mass of anecdote and episode entirely lacking foundation in truth.¹ There seems to be no doubt that he was born in 1477, but not all are agreed that Castelfranco was his birthplace. Some maintain that he was born at Vedelago, a village not far from Castelfranco, and that he belonged to a prosperous family recorded in a document of 1460 which mentions "Johannes dictus Zorzonus de Vitellaco cive et habitatore Castri Franchi."² This Zorzonus, who was living some twenty years before the painter, was in all probability his father. It is a pure invention of Vasari that Giorgione was so called from a certain grandeur of mind and body bestowed on him by nature; so too the story that he was the offspring of illicit love between one of the Barbarella family and a woman of the people falls to the ground. Documents and writers of the sixteenth century call the painter *Zorzon*, which was perhaps the surname, *Zorzi* or *Giorgione da Castelfranco*, and never Barbarella, a name that appears for the first time in 1647 in Ridolfi's *Maraviglie*.³ Nor did he ever live in the Barbarella house at Castelfranco,

¹ Among modern biographies Paul Laudau's *Giorgione* (Berlin, Bard) hardly deserves notice, he is so fanciful; not much better is Cook's life (London, Bell, 1904). Angelo Conti (Firenze, Alinari, 1894) and Monneret de Villard (Bergamo, Arti Grafiche, 1904) are pleasant reading, but give few new facts.

² The document is quoted in Nadal Melchiori's *Cronaca*, a manuscript in the Municipio of Castelfranco. See Gronau, *Zorzon da Castelfranco* (*Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, T. VII, Part II, p. 447). We believe, however, that Giorgione was born at Castelfranco. Morelli's *Anonimo*, who is well informed on Venetian matters and wrote his notes between 1512 and 1543 and was therefore a contemporary of the painter, mentions him frequently as *Zorzi*, sometimes adding *di Castelfranco*. Francesco Sansovino, (*Venetia*), speaking of the church of San Giovanni Grisostomo, says "et nobilitato poi da Giorgione da Castelfranco famosissimo pittore il quale cominciò la palla grande con le tre virtù teologiche et fu poi finita da Sebastiano che fu frate del piombo in Roma."

³ Gronau, loc. cit.

though it is true he was buried in their tomb in the church of San Liberale in that town.¹ This has given rise to the supposition that Giorgione belonged to the Barbarella family; but we have other cases in which a family would grant a last resting-place to its distant connections or even to mere friends; thus the Bellini were buried in the tomb of the Di Giorgi near the oratory of Saint Ursula.

Zorzon, or Zorzi, was taken, when quite a boy, to the studio of Giambellino, where he found a fellow pupil in Titian. Zorzi rose rapidly in reputation and in fortune, and settled in a house in the Campo San Silvestro. Ridolfi says he frescoed the front of his house, and that its chambers often resounded to the noise of revelry and of concerts, in which Zorzi, an excellent master of the lute, used to take part. Vasari tells us that *nel molto conversare che ei faceva per trattenere con la musica molti suoi amici*, he fell in love with a woman affected with syphilis which she communicated to the artist in so violent a form that he succumbed. As a matter of fact he died of the plague in 1510,² and this must be the source of Vasari's error. But to counter-balance the inventions of the historian of Arezzo, which blacken the memory of the great though mysterious artist, we get a poetical legend which has given rise to many poems and romances, and to a play by Pietro Cossa, which draws its argument from certain obscure words said to have been scribbled by Giorgione on the back of his magnificent picture of the Madonna at Castelfranco and which were rubbed out by a

¹ In the old church of San Liberale, between the altars of San Giovanni Battista and San Marco, there used to be a tablet, which was lost in the restoration of the church. It bore the following inscription: OB PERPETUUM LABORIS ARDUI MONUMENTUM | IN HANC FRATRIS OBTINENDO PLEBEM SUSCEPTI | VIRTUTISQUE PRAECLARAE JACOBI ET NICOLAI SENIORUM | AD GEORGIONIS SUMMI PICTORIS MEMORIAM | VETUSTATE COLLAPSAM PIETATE RESTAURATAM | MATTHAEUS ET HERCULES BARBARELLA FRATRES | SIBI POSTERISQUE CONSTRUI FECERUNT | DONEC VENIAT DIES | ANNO DOMINI MDCKKXVIII MENS. AUGUST.

² Gronau, loc. cit.

162 VENICE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

restorer in 1831. The inscription, whose diction and handwriting do not appear to have been contemporary, runs thus:

CARA CECILIA
VIENI T'AFFRETTA
IL TUO T'ASPETTA

GIORGIO.

Around this Cecilia a whole fantastic love story has grown up. They say that the painter loved, with all the passion of mind and body, the beautiful Cecilia, who was seduced and stolen from him by a pupil and friend, Pietro Luzzo called Zarato, more commonly known under the name of *Morto da Feltre* on account of his extreme pallor; and that Giorgione was so overcome with grief that he died while still on the very threshold of fame. In the Uffizi at Florence there is the portrait of a lean man with a skull by his side, which has been called *Morto da Feltre*. But the painting is claimed by some as belonging to the Florentine school, by others it is ascribed to *Torbido* of Verona. There is no indication that the picture represents *Morto da Feltre*, who, according to Vasari, after having painted in Florence and Rome and acquiring great repute especially in grotesques, came to Venice, where he worked with Giorgione on the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, and passing thence into Friuli took service as a soldier in the war between Venice and Zara, under the walls of which he died in the forty-fifth year of his age.¹ But all these details, drawn no one knows whence, are open to grave doubts. The documents of the period never mention either Pietro Luzzo or *Morto da Feltre*, while they do record a painter, Lorenzo Luzzo of Feltre, whose surname was Zarato or Zarotto, the author of a beautiful picture now in the Berlin Gallery. Lorenzo was a deeply religious man, an affectionate and happy

¹ Vasari, *Vita del Morto dal Feltro e di Andrea Feltrini, detto di Cosimo*.

husband; on leaving Feltre he went to Venice, where it does not seem that he laid siege to other men's wives; he did not go to the wars in Dalmatia, indeed no war was raging at that date. On January 8, 1526, he made his will, and, with the exception of a few bequests, he left the whole of his property to his wife, *uxori mee dilecte*; according to his express desire he was to be buried in the cemetery of the Observantines at San Francesco della Vigna.¹ Thus it seems that the story of Giorgione's love affair is reduced to a myth.

Zorzi da Castelfranco's brief existence is balanced by the long and brilliant career of his rival Titian, who was born at Pieve di Cadore about the year 1480, but who, at the age of ten, came to Venice, which he always looked on as his real home.² Titian enjoyed the protection of emperors and the friendship of kings and princes, but to the close of his long life he was a slave to nothing save the beauty of the fair sex. Of his life we know much,³ but not always for certain; the exact date of his birth is in doubt, for some do not admit, though wrongly, that the artist lived to the age of ninety-nine;⁴ nor till lately did we know anything about his marriage or about his wife Cecilia.⁵ Documents recently brought to light enable us to assist at his wedding, and admit us to the intimacy of his

¹ Caffi, *Il Morto da Feltre*, in the *Arch. Stor. Lombardo*, fasc. IV. Milano, 1888.

² He speaks in those terms of Venice, in a letter to the presidents of Brescia. Zamboni, *Mem. di Brescia*, p. 142. Brescia, 1778.

³ Cavalcaselle and Crowe, *Tiziano, la sua vita e i suoi tempi*, trans. Firenze, 1877. Gronau, *Tizian*. Berlin, 1900.

⁴ Cook (*Giorgione*) believes that Titian was born either in 1489 or 1490. Gronau (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*. Band XXIV, 1901) confirms, with the aid of fresh documents, the tradition that Titian died at the age of ninety-nine or a little less, in 1576. The date of his death is certain.

⁵ Cadorin (*Dello amore ai Veneziani di T. V.*, p. 13, Venezia, 1833) says that Tiziano amò nella sua giovinezza Cecilia di un affetto fatto sacro dalle leggi divine. Ticozzi (*Vite dei Vecelli*, Lib. I, cap. II, Venezia, 1817) says that Titian si accasò con Lucia (?) cittadina veneziana.

domestic life with a vividness worthy of one of the master's own pictures.¹

On October 25, 1550, while Titian was at Innsbruck, Doctor Pietro Assonica *come commesso dello Exellente messer Tucian*, presented to the Court of the Esaminador a petition that certain witnesses should be heard in order to prove that in December, 1525, Titian had taken Madonna Cecilia as his lawful wife. It would seem, from a document dealing with the murder of a certain Luigi of Cyprus, Titian's servant, that in 1525 the painter was living *in confinio Sancti Pauli in domibus de ka Trono*; ² it was not till 1531 that he went to live at the Biri Grande, in the parish of San Canciano, where he died on August 27, 1576. In the house at San Polo there lived with Titian his brother Francesco, who went back to Pieve di Cadore in 1527 and died in 1560, and Cecilia, daughter of the *quondam ser Alo de maistro Giacomo barbier de Perarol de Cadore*, who must have gone with the painter as housekeeper, or, as they then said, as *mammola*.³ Behind all the brilliant figures of women painted or loved by Titian lies this love for the poor peasant girl who had presented him with two sons, Pomponio and Orazio. This love affair

¹ Ludwig, *Neue Funde im Staatsarchiv zu Venedig*, in the *Jahrbuch*, cit., suppl. to Vol. XXIV, 1903.

² We will quote the document which proves that Titian, before living at the Biri, lived at San Polo and not at San Samuele, as Cavalcaselle asserts. "Nobilis vir Baptista Quirino de confinio Sancti Thome inculpatus de mense novembri MDXXVIII vulnerasse quondam Aloysium de Cypro tunc temporis servitorem magistri Tutiani pictoris habitatoris in confinio Sancti Pauli in domibus de ka Trono uno ulnere de punta sub oculo sinistro, ex quo de presenti vita migravit." Saccardo, G., *Due avventure tragiche e una abitazione di Tiziano in Venezia* (in the *Arch. Veneto*, T. XXXV, p. 407). In 1565 another servant of Titian's, called Mattia, a man from Cadore, was killed by a certain Niccolò Rampogna, a shoemaker.

³ A word not found in dictionaries but frequently in documents. In general it means concubine, although in some wills the *mammola* is really the housekeeper. In the will of Vincenzo Catena the painter leaves to his *mammola Menega Furlana*, daughter of a furrier in Udine, three hundred ducats and his personal clothing. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in North Italy*, Vol. I, p. 252. London, 1871.



TITIAN'S BIRTHPLACE, AT PIEVE DI CADORE



began perhaps in 1520, and when in 1525 Cecilia fell seriously ill, Titian felt desirous that their union should be blessed by the priest, and consulted his brother Francesco; the brief dialogue is full of a natural grace. "Francesco," says Titian, "io voria spoxar Cecilia . . . nostra de casa, per respecto che ho due fioli maschi con lie, la qual è inferma, a ciò li siano legittimi"; and Francesco answers, "Mi son contento, et mi meraviglio che sie stato tanto a farlo. Questa è bona opera, et ve exorto ch'el debiate far al presente." Accordingly Francesco, at Titian's request, went to fetch Don Paolo, priest of San Giovanni Nuovo, and his brother Geronimo, the painter's apprentice, *el quale era puto allora de anni quindexe incircha*; ¹ also the goldsmith Niccolò, who had his shop at the sign of the Cross at San Matteo, in Rialto, and Master Silvestro the stone-cutter, who lived at San Silvestro. All these persons assembled at Titian's house, and, says Don Paolo when giving evidence before the Court of the Esaminador, twenty-five years later, *io come sacerdote fici le parole in similibus necessarie* for the benediction of the union, while Francesco Vecellio adds *siendo dicta Cecilia in lecto presenti tutti li sopra nominati et cusi con alegreza cenassemo tutti insieme quella sera*. Cecilia recovered and lived for five years longer, and blessed her legitimate spouse with two daughters, one of whom died young, the other grew up to be the lovely Lavinia. Cavalcaselle recognises the joy of paternity expressed by Titian in the Madonna del Coniglio, now in the Louvre; a most graceful composition, with the Madonna seated mid the pleasant landscape of the Isonzo and the Tagliamento, resting her hand on a white

¹ Geronimo was an apprentice in Titian's studio. In all probability he is the painter known as Girolamo di Tiziano; his family name was Dente, not Dante, as Boschini has it. In the church of San Giovanni Nuovo, where his brother Don Paolo officiated, there is an altar-piece by Girolamo painted for the confraternity of SS. Cosma e Damiano. Ludwig, *Neue Funde*, cit.

rabbit, the Child and Saint Catherine keeping her company. The death of Cecilia on August 5, 1530, plunged Titian into the profoundest grief; the idea of a second marriage never crossed his mind, but he summoned his sister, Orsa, from Cadore to be a mother to his children, and she lived with him for twenty years. Orsa died in March, 1550, and Aretino wrote a touching letter of condolence to Titian on the loss of a woman who had been to him not only sister but daughter, mother, companion, and guardian of his domestic affairs.¹ If Titian found little comfort from his eldest son Pomponio, who disgraced his priestly robes by his orgies and his extravagances, he was at least happy in the affection of his two other children, Orazio, who was no poor painter, and his beloved Lavinia, who married Cornelio Sarcinelli of Serravalle in 1555.

In the joyous life of Venice the figure of the artist called Pordenone from his birthplace in Friuli, where he was born in 1484, stands out with boldness and vigour. His father was a well-to-do master builder, called Angelo de Lodesanis, or De Corticellis, from the village of Corticelle, near Brescia, whence he originally came. In notarial deeds the painter Giovanni Antonio di Pordenone is also called Sachiense, or De Sachis, or Regillo, a surname that descended to his offspring.² His worldly spirit, with its haughty and chivalrous ideas, displayed no less in his artistic conceptions than in his manner of expressing them,³ reflected his temperament, the *più fiera*, says Lanzi, *la più risoluta, più grande di tutta la veneta scuola*. Arrogant he certainly was, and prone to violence; for example, in 1510, in the streets of Pordenone he came to blows with Bartolamio

¹ Aretino, *Lettere*, Lib. V, 243.

² Joppi, *Contributo Terzo alla Storia dell' Arte in Friuli*, pp. 29 et seq. (in the *Miscellanea della R. Dep. di Storia Veneta*, Vol. XII. Venezia, 1892).

³ Morelli, G., *Della pitt. it.*, p. 308.

of Marostica;¹ and again in 1534, when he had a quarrel over money matters with his brother Baldassare which ended in bloodshed.² In 1538 he went to Ferrara to finish some designs for the Duke Hercole II,³ but after a few days he fell ill and died at the hostelry of the Angelo, not without suspicion of poison. He was buried, on January 14, 1539, in the church of San Paolo at Ferrara.⁴ The most recent and diligent critics have supposed that Bernardino Licinio was a disciple, successor, and relation of Pordenone, and they even hold that he came from the city of Pordenone. But Giovanni Antonio Regillo never called himself Licinio, and the painters who bore this name were, as we shall see, from Bergamo.

Hitherto both the birthplace of Andrea Meldola, called Schiavone, and the date of his death have been a matter of doubt. He was thought to have been born in Sebenico, but really saw the light at Zara, as we learn from his will. The necrologies give us the date of his death in Venice as December 1, 1561, not 1582, as Moschini has it, and the cause *mal de mazzucco*, or meningitis.

Paolo Caliari was born in Verona about the year 1527.⁵ He belonged to an unpretending family of

¹ Joppi, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

² Maniago, *Storia delle belle arti friulane*, pp. 324-330. Udine, 1823.

³ Joppi says Alfonso I, but Alfonso died in 1554. Hercole II had ordered some designs for tapestries, and Pordenone began them in Venice, choosing subjects from the *Odyssey* (Ridolfi, Vol. I, pp. 162 et seq.). On the 16th September, 1538, Hercole wrote a letter to his ambassador Giacomo Tebaldi, expressing a wish that Pordenone should come to Ferrara to finish the work. But though Pordenone promised to leave on September 19, he only set out on receipt of a curt note from the Duke dated December 12, and reached Ferrara on the last days of 1538. He died in January, 1539, from a violent flux, accompanied by terrible pains in the stomach.

⁴ Campori, *Atti Deput. di st. pat. per la prov. mod. e parm.*, Vol. III, p. 186.

⁵ The date of Paolo's birth is not clearly established. Some give the year 1530; Burckhardt gives 1528. 1527 is a more probable date, based on the following entry in the parish books of Santa Cecilia in Verona:

stone-cutters. At the close of the year 1554, or the beginning of 1555, Paolo was painting the villa of the Porto family at Thiene, when he was summoned to Venice by his compatriot Padre Bernardo Tolioni, prior of the Gerolamini at San Sebastiano.¹ Paolo's temper was frank, generous, gay, but he was subject to sudden and violent outbursts of passion, a common trait in nobler spirits who are incapable of concealing their emotions under hypocritical disguises. Some secret reason for his long sojourn in the monastery of San Sebastiano has been conjectured, and it is said that for some grave offence he was interned in the village of Zerman in the marches of Treviso; even the story that when painting the Palladian villa of Caldogno in the district of Vicenza, he slew Giannantonio Fasolo in a fit of jealousy, has found credence. The painter's memory has been cleansed of these lying accusations. He was, in fact, honest, kindly, and modest to such a degree that, doubting his own ability, he sent his son Carlo to study under Bassano, and always said with fatherly pride, "Carletto mi vincerà." A man of method and sobriety, he managed his family affairs with such thrift that he laid by quite a respectable fortune, and bought a farm of forty-five *campi* at Sant' Angelo di Treviso, along with a good dwelling-house and courtyard.² On April 20, 1566, he married the daughter of his uncle and first teacher, Antonio Badile. He painted the beautiful Elena Badile, when quite young, in the "Supper at Emmaus," where she appears

"1541. *Magister Antonius Badili pictor quondam Hieronymi ann. 60. Paulus ejus discipulus 14,*" etc. See Zannandreis, *Le vite dei pitt., scult. e arch. veronesi*, p. 161. Verona, 1891.

¹ Paolo painted the likeness of Padre Tolioni as San Francesco in the altar-piece in the church of San Sebastiano. The ceiling of S. Sebastiano was finished November 10, 1555. The date appears on an open book held by two children in one of the roundels of the ceiling. This enables us to fix the end of 1554, or the beginning of 1555, as the date of Paolo's arrival in Venice.

² Caliarì, *Paolo Veronese*, p. 146. Roma. 1888.

as the mistress of the house, very handsomely dressed ;¹ and again, when well on in years, in a portrait in the Pitti Palace. Elena bore Paolo two sons, Carlo and Gabriel, both distinguished painters, Paolo's brother, Benedetto, was also a good artist, who frequently helped his brother, and never showed jealousy if Paolo received the higher praise. Paolo has given us a fine portrait of Benedetto in the "Marriage of Cana" in the Louvre ; he is the figure holding a cup close to the group of musicians in which Titian is playing the double bass, Bassano the flute, Tintoretto the harpsicord, and Paolo himself the 'cello. Veronese loved his family, his house, his adopted home, so dearly that he refused the invitation of Philip II to go to Spain. On the other hand, he gladly visited the country houses of Venetian patricians, though he never made a long sojourn except at Este, with the Pisani family, whose hospitality he handsomely repaid by a gift of the picture, "The Family of Darius at the Feet of Alexander." On April 19, 1588, in his house in the parish of San Samuele, Paolo died of a pleurisy contracted eight days before at Sant' Angelo di Treviso, owing to his overheating himself when following the Easter procession of the faithful. He was buried in the church of San Sebastiano, and the lovely creations of his genius keep watch above his tomb. Eight years later his son Carlo, the pride and hope of his father, succumbed to a consumption at the age of twenty-six.

Bonifazio, like Paolo, was born at Verona, and, like his compatriot, proved himself a brilliant colourist. The life of no other painter of the period has presented such doubts and errors, for down to our own day it has been held that under the name of Bonifazio we must distinguish two, three, and even four different masters.²

¹ Meissner, *Paolo Veronese*, p. 74. Leipzig, 1897.

² All the early historians agree in giving the name Bonifazio to one master only, born either in Venice or in Verona. Giannantonio Moschini

An obscure Veronese painter called Bonifazio Pasini was born in 1489, and enrolled in the confraternity of SS. Siro e Libera, where he held the post of sacristan; he married Alferana Palermi, daughter of a lawyer, and had one daughter, Cassandra, wife of the tailor Bartolomeo de Salarinis. This Bonifazio Pasini never left Verona, where he died in 1540. We know nothing of his work. It is certain that he was not connected either by blood or by profession with the other Bonifazio who was born in Verona in 1491, not in 1487, and belonged to the ancient family dei Pitati. His father was a soldier; but Bonifazio, more inclined to peaceful pursuits, came to Venice at the age of eighteen and entered the studio of Jacopo Palma il Vecchio. After that master's death Bonifazio continued in friendly relations with the Palma family, and gave his niece, Giulia, in marriage to Antonio Palma, Jacopo's nephew. Bonifazio himself married Marietta, daughter of a certain Zuan Brunello, a basket-maker, and widow of a De Grassi. This union was not

was the first to point out, in the index of artists to his *Guida di Venezia*, 1865, that Zanetti was in error in that after adducing documentary evidence of the death of Bonifazio on October 19, 1553, he goes on to ascribe to the master pictures dated 1558 and 1579. Moschini concluded from the facts that we must recognise at least two masters bearing the name of Bonifazio. Much later Cesare Bernasconi discovered a document which proved that a painter, Bonifazio Pasini of Verona, died in 1540 (*Registro della Confraternità detta il Collegio*, in the archives of the church of SS. Siro e Libera in Verona). Then Giovanni Morelli, after examining the various works, came to the conclusion that we must recognise two Veronese masters bearing the name, and one or perhaps two Venetian Bonifazii. The two elder, relations and perhaps brothers, came early to Venice and joined the studio of Palma il Vecchio. The first of these was a lively genius, while the second was a faithful follower; both had as pupil a third Bonifazio, considerably younger and possibly the son of one or other of the elder Bonifazii. As the younger Bonifazio was born in Venice, he has a right to the name Venetian (Giov. Morelli, *Le opere dei maestri it. nelle Gallerie di Monaco, Dresda, Berlino*, ital. trans., p. 188. Bologna, 1886.) The ingenious conjecture of Morelli has been for the most part destroyed by documents discovered recently by Ludwig (*Bonifazio di Pitati da Verona, eine Archivalische Untersuchung*, in the *Jahrbuch*, Band XXII, 1901).

blessed with offspring, and the couple, as it would seem from the terms of their will, bestowed their whole affections on their nephews, especially on two of them, who were heirs of their uncle's artistic methods, Battista, son of Giacomo, known as Battista di Bonifazio, and Antonio Palma, who had wedded Bonifazio's niece, Giulia. This Antonio, whose pictures were at one time attributed to a third Bonifazio, was the father of Giacomo Palma, born in 1544, and called the younger to distinguish him from his grand-uncle of the same name. Bonifazio de' Pitati passed his life peacefully in Venice. He received important commissions from the Republic, and decorated with his brilliant brush the Palace of the Camerlenghi. He enjoyed a high character among his brother artists, and the Guild named him and Titian and Lotto to distribute a legacy which the painter Vincenzo Catena had left to dower five poor maids. After years of long and fruitful toil Bonifazio withdrew to the quiet of his little villa at San Zenone, near Asolo, *una cazela de muro con suo bruolo et orto*, and fifteen acres of land. He died in Venice, on October 9, 1553, in his house at San Marcuola,¹ and was buried in Sant' Alvise.

It was also in this out-of-the-way part of Venice that Tintoretto dwelt. On the *fondamenta dei Mori* there still stands the graceful Gothic palace wherein Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto from his father's humble calling, lived from June, 1574, to the day of his death, May 31, 1594. Jacopo was of a retiring disposition, and preferred the intimacy of his family circle surrounded by his children, among whom he especially loved Domenico, a skilful painter, and Marietta, who, besides being expert at music, also enjoyed the reputation of a clever artist. Concerts

¹ As early as 1528 Bonifazio was living at San Marcuola, as is proved by a document dated October 7 in that year, *Io bonifatio di pitati veronese pictor at presente dela contrà de S^a Marcola in Venetia*. Ludwig, loc. cit.

were often given at Tintoretto's house, and the master, himself a good performer, used to accompany the songs of his daughter Marietta, who was a pupil of the Neapolitan master Giulio Zacchino. But Marietta died in the thirtieth year of her age, to the intense grief of her father, who in his inconsolable old age saw relations, masters, friends, slip from him one by one. In Tintoretto's temperament no less than in his manner, there is something that recalls Michelangelo. He spoke little, and was often rude to the powerful; he was no flatterer or hypocrite; he was one of the few who dared to resist the baneful authority of Aretino, before whom the rest of the world quailed. Aretino once had spoken ill of the master; when, by accident, Tintoretto met him in the street, he asked Aretino to come home with him, as he wished to paint his portrait. Aretino consented, but hardly was he posed when Tintoretto, in apparent fury, whipped out a dagger from beneath his doublet. Aretino in alarm began to cry for help, nor would he be pacified until he was convinced that Tintoretto did not mean to stab him, but merely to give him a playful hint. Aretino never spoke ill of the master again and even became his friend. Tintoretto's rugged countenance, which reflected the austerity of his character, remained for long a tradition among Venetian artists. It is reproduced in caricature on one of the stalls in the hall of the Scuola di San Rocco, where the Venetian sculptor Francesco Pianta (1660-1670) has represented the great master, with his brows puckered up, crouching among his brushes, pots, and colours.

The grave figure of Tintoretto stands out against the background of joyous Venetian life, and here and there in this world of movement we meet with some other gentle spirit, enamoured of silence, some winning artistic temperament wrapped in an atmosphere of sweet and pensive dreams. Such was the character of

Lorenzo Lotto, a passionately mystic soul, whom Titian described *come la virtù virtuoso e come la bontà buono*. And in fact Lotto was devoted to the beautiful and the good; he passes through life as the last solitary worshipper of the old ideals now lost or cast aside. He calmly, nay, almost joyfully, endured the perpetual struggle between the lofty aspirations of his inner self and the grinding conditions of his daily life. He was not born, as some believed, at Treviso or at Bergamo, but in Venice, about the year 1480. *Homo poco avventurato*, as his friend Giovanni dal Coro says of him. His spirit, ever aiming at the purer joys of noble ideals, was forced to struggle for the bare necessities of a life passed in bitter poverty. The master who, in the triptych at Recanati, touched a height of sublime and lofty feeling ungrasped by any other artist, has kept a pathetically careful account of all that he gained by his art.¹ In order to earn his daily bread he was obliged to paint comb-cases, and thought himself lucky if his pictures were paid for in wine, cheese, ham, and flour; for he experienced the humiliation of having his paintings returned on his hands occasionally, as happened in the case of his portrait of Giovan Maria Pizone, protonotary in Ancona. To make anything by it, the master was forced to turn the protonotary into Saint Bartholomew and to sell it to Bartolomeo Carpan, a jeweller of Treviso, settled in Venice, who paid him by a small gold ring set with a diamond and a tiny ruby, which he employed to make a present to Lauretta, daughter of his nephew Mario d'Armano, in whose house Lorenzo lived for two years. This hospitality he repaid by putting in his nephew's cellars the oil, vinegar, hams, and cheeses which his paintings brought him, and by giving little Lauretta orange satin slippers and yellow socks. To the best of his modest means he

¹ *Libro dei conti di Lorenzo Lotto, 1538-1556* (published in the *Gallerie nazionali italiane*, first year, p. 115. Roma, 1894).

repaid his other friends and well-wishers who gave shelter to the poor painter, *solo, senza fidel governo et molto inquieto della mente*, as he himself says in his will, dated March 24, 1546, in the hostelry *in volta a Corona* at San Matteo di Rialto.¹ The blows of fortune he received with resignation, exclaiming *Dio lodato!* Grown old and with eyesight dimmed, he became a lay-brother in the Holy House of Loreto, *per non andarsi advolgendo più nella vecchiaia e per quiete di sua vita*, which came to a close on September 1, 1556.

Dario Varotari, too, died a monk, with thoughts entirely turned to Heaven. He was born at Verona in 1539, and founded a school at Padua from which came his son Alessandro, called Padovanino. Dario, one day, was painting a sundial on the façade of a villa which Acquapendente, the famous physician, was building near Battaglia, when the scaffolding broke and Dario fell to the ground, but unhurt. The pious painter recognised a miracle, and returning straightway to Padua, he took the habit of a Carmelite friar in gratitude for his delivery. But within a few days he died, in the year 1596.²

Paris Bordon also belongs to this group of gentle souls. From his pictures, especially from certain suggestive mythological compositions and from the nude figure at Vienna, one would suppose him to have been among the most voluptuous of Venetian painters, but as a fact he was sober and temperate in his mode of life, frank in manner, superior to envy, averse to flattery, and careless of praise. He was born at Treviso in July, 1500, the son of Giovanni Bordon and Angelica Gradenigo of Venice.³ It has been supposed that Paris belonged, on his father's side, to an ancient and noble family of Treviso, and on his mother's to the Venetian

¹ *Archivio Veneto*, XXXIV, 351.

² Ridolfi, *op. cit.*, II, 275.

³ Bailo and Biscaro, *Della vita e delle opera di P. Bordon*. Treviso, 1900.

patriciate; but that is not the case, he came of a race that was neither noble nor rich. His father followed the calling of saddler, and his ancestors the still humbler one of shoemaker; it is a mere legend that the name Bordon was given to one of these ancestors because of his skill in fashioning pilgrims' staves. Nor, though she bore the illustrious name of Gradenigo, are we to suppose that his mother belonged to that noble race, but merely to a family of Venetian *cittadini*. It is true that this son of the people acquired by his own merits a rank far higher, and won for himself a position at the splendid Court of the Fine Arts in the glorious company of Giorgione, Titian, Palma, Veronese, Tintoretto. At the age of eight Paris was left in sole charge of his widowed mother, by whom he was taken to her home to receive his early education in Venice. His long sojourn in the district of Belluno has given rise to the story that he was banished to the mountains, or had sought refuge there to escape from wrath and persecution; this seems improbable when we consider the amiable qualities of this master, whose manner reveals that intense love of country solitude which inspired the deep poetic feeling that he breathes into the backgrounds of his pictures, so strikingly in contrast with their subjects, which are sumptuous and joyous in colour and in expression, — backgrounds that suggest the very spirit of lonely recesses in the mountains, bubbling founts and cool umbrageous forests. It was peace he sought in his modest little villa of Lovadina, where before him lay the valley of the Piave with its meadows rich in harvest, and in the pale blue distance the mountains of Cadore. *Io ho de proprio in la villa de Luvadina: una chaxeta de muro coperta de copi*, he says in a declaration made for valuation purposes on January 16, 1537, and presented at Treviso; and in another declaration made in Venice in the same year, he speaks again of his *chaxeta in la qual parte ne abitto*.

mi Paris in l'altra lo vilan che governa li campi. His marriage to Cinzia, daughter of Bartolomeo Spa (Spada), a Venetian citizen, cannot be dated much earlier than 1536, in which year we have a will by Cinzia, in which she declares herself with child and devises her property to her offspring. This marriage was blessed by the birth of one son, Giovanni, also a painter,¹ and four daughters, Angelica, Lucrezia, Cassandra, and Ottavia. The fame of the master was not confined to Venetian territory but spread to distant lands. About 1538 Paris was invited to the Court of Francis I.² The French Court still retained the memory of Leonardo da Vinci, who had died nineteen years earlier, and without seeking for points of similarity between the two geniuses who were, in truth, too diverse in manner, it may not be amiss to observe that the Trevisan master may have helped to recall the great Leonardo. Like him, Paris was an able musician as well as painter; like him the Trevisan was noble in aspect, refined and dignified in manner. Tradition affirms these qualities, and the portrait in the Museum at Treviso, were its authenticity not in doubt, would go to confirm the statement. Paris came back to Venice and spent his days in quiet and fruitful labour. "Se ne sta con comodità in casa quietamente," says Vasari, who certainly knew Bordon in Venice. Bordon was able to enjoy the *somma tranquillità e pace* which he loved in the silent hermitage of his house in the Corte del Cavallo, near the fondamenta della Misericordia, where the boats from Treviso landed.³ He

¹ In the books of the Guild of Painters, 1530, we find *Bordon Paris* *figurer*, and from 1582 to 1587 *Bordon Zuanne, q. Paris*.

² The Fuggers invited Bordon to Augsburg, and there he painted the portrait of Jerome Croft which was in the collection of Louis XVI and is now in the Louvre. It is dated 1540.

³ Bordon lived at San Giuliano till 1518, then at San Moisè till 1520, then at the Madonna dell' Orto in the Corte del Cavallo, so called because Leopardi, author of the Colleoni monument, lived there.

died on January 19, 1571, and was buried in the church of San Marcilian (Marziale) in Venice.

The fiery vigour which stamps the work of Alessandro Vittoria found no counterpart in his mind or in his life. His imagination ran widely free, but his spirit obeyed the laws of order; his hand, which modelled with incomparable skill both clay and stucco into the most fantastic forms, lent itself to the placid tending of the flowers in the garden of his house in the Calle della Pietà at San Giovanni in Bragora, where stood his portrait bust made by himself.¹ In this trim and quiet abode he made his will on May 4, 1608, signing himself *Alessandro Vittoria della Volpe fu di Vigilio Trentino*.² He died twenty-three days later, and was buried in San Zaccaria in a tomb designed by himself.

Another spirit in antithesis to the temper of his day was Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano from his native city, where he saw the light in 1510. After learning the rudiments of his art from his father, he went to Venice, but soon returned to Bassano, where his quiet home was cheered by the presence of a loving wife and four sons, none of whom reached the excellence of their father but were nevertheless distinguished as painters. Jacopo was so modest that he preferred his sojourn in Bassano, and refused the invitation of Rudolph II to the Imperial Court. As a lover of rural quiet, and intent on the study of the simpler side of life which other artists had neglected, and on the observation of the minutest details of the country, the silence of the fields gave him leisure for work and meditation and helped him to reach the eightieth year of his life (d. 1592).

The ablest of his sons, the unfortunate Francesco, did not end his days so peacefully. He was born at Bassano in 1549, and though surrounded by the affection

¹ The bust was sold in 1832 to the King of Prussia.

² Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, pp. 560, 561.

of his family and encouraged by the prospect of fame, the light of his intelligence was obscured in the very flower of his manhood. With terrible anguish he watched the shipwreck of his brain; the smallest incident would inspire a mortal dread; and so, on July 4, 1592, hearing a knocking at the door he thought the police had come to arrest him and in a panic he flung himself from the window and was killed.¹

These few particulars — some well known already, others hardly so — about the Venetian artists of the Renaissance gives us a rapid synthesis of the lives of these men who concentrated round the name of Venice the glory attached to art. Some found happiness in solitude, others in the sparkle of companionship, but one and all, according to their natural bent, sought to keep themselves apart from and unspotted by the vexations and vulgarities of ordinary life. The worst mishap that can befall an artist, the criticism of the incompetent whether patrician or plebeian, never ruffled them, never caused them pain or discouragement. Paolo Veronese painted a picture of Paradise for some nuns; the figures in the background were naturally less carefully finished and less strong in colour; the good nuns who knew nothing about the matter were far from satisfied, and when a Flemish painter passed their way with his carefully finished little pictures, they openly regretted that they had not given the commission to him. The Fleming, thereupon, offered to exchange a work of his own for Paolo's; the bargain was accepted, and the astute trickster sold Paolo's "Paradiso" for four hundred crowns.² But the opinion of the ignorant had no power to hurt these great Venetian masters; fully conscious of their own merits, they met stupidity with irony, which sometimes, as with

¹ Francesco Bassano lived in the parish of San Canciano. The necrology says he died "*per essersi buttato giù da un balcone per frenesia.*"

² Ridolfi, *op. cit.*, II, 40.

Veronese, was light and graceful, sometimes, as with Tintoretto, had all the sting of a lash.

Tintoretto was wont to treat his rivals not merely by brusque speech but also to pranks at their expense. He was commissioned to paint the façade of the Soranzo Palace at the Ponte dell' Angelo in fresco, and his enemies went about saying that, as the common phrase has it, it would take both hands and feet to carry out the job. Tintoretto finished the work with his usual ease, and in the upper part of the design he drew a row of hands and feet holding, supporting, grasping, thrusting the cornice, and thus by way of an ironical joke he fulfilled the prophecy of his detractors. More biting and stinging still were certain phrases which Tintoretto would let drop without a smile. On one occasion a vain and foolish old nobleman wished to have his portrait painted, and would never have done urging the master to be careful to reproduce exactly the lace, gold, and rich stuffs with which he was adorned; at last Tintoretto, losing all patience, burst out, "Andè dal Bassan a farve ritrar" (Go and get yourself painted by Bassano), who was universally known as an animal painter. On another occasion Tintoretto's studio was crowded with prelates and Senators, one of whom, seeing the speed with which the master painted, ventured to remark that Giambellino and other artists worked more slowly but their pictures were more accurately finished, whereupon Tintoretto drily retorted that they no doubt were able to finish their pictures as they were not surrounded by such a pack of tiresome bores as he was. At this, Senators and prelates said not a word, but went. Such was the liberty enjoyed by artists in Venice at a time when Italian and foreign sovereigns demanded from art nothing but flattery and the satisfaction of their vanity. The Holy Office, however, did not show itself so indulgent to the caprices of Venetian painters. Paolo Veronese, though a man of the

profoundest piety, gave rein to all sorts of fantastic ideas in his pictures, even of religious subjects. In the picture of the Last Supper, painted for the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, he introduced into the company of Our Lord German Landsknechts with halberd in hand, men-servants bleeding at the nose, buffoons with parrots, apostles picking their teeth with their forks, — episodes which to a timid mind might suggest profanity. The Inquisition called on Veronese to explain *simili buffonerie*; the artist gave the subtle reply that he painted figures, not ideas, and that painters had the right to take *quella licentia che si pigliano i poeti e i matti*, and added, “Io faccio le pitture con quella consideration che è conveniente, che l' mio intelletto può capire.” He was condemned to alter his picture, but he simply continued *a non prendere tante cose in consideration*. After three centuries we still can see this magician of the brush, with his high forehead, his piercing glance, his lips wreathed in a smile, his whole body full of grace and vigour. He was indeed very careful of his spare and graceful figure, and though somewhat parsimonious he invariably wore fine clothing and velvet breeches. Indeed it is remarkable that many Venetian artists were careful about their dress. Tintoretto always had a handsome wardrobe, and when his reputation was secure he bought a sumptuous robe in order to please his wife, who used to stand at the window and follow him with pride as he left the house. Vasari says that Jacopo Sansovino liked to dress handsomely, and always took great care of his person, “piacendoli tuttavia le femmine fino all' ultima vecchiezza: delle quali si contentava assai il ragionarne.” Giovanni Contarini, a clever and lively colourist, also wore a robe in his later years, though in his youth he liked to adorn himself with chains and gilded clasps, and hats with sweeping plumes. So too the vivacious Leandro Bassano, son of Jacopo, affected clothes of rich

stuffs, and chains round his neck, and the badge of San Marco.¹

The serenity which delights us in the paintings of these Venetian artists is reflected in the whole tenor of their lives. The spiritual calm of some of them acted as a continual check on their passions and their actions. Palma il Giovane had no other object in life than his work, from which the profoundest grief was powerless to distract him; in his art he sought consolation for the death of his two sons, one of whom died in Naples, the other ended in a life of debauchery; and as his wife was being borne towards the tomb, he set himself to paint to escape from his pain.² Misfortune never overcame him, and he passed away quietly in the house of the Basadonna family at Santa Giustina in 1628; just before he expired he asked for a pencil and wrote: "Io vedo e sento, ma non posso parlare." Andrea Palladio, who from his portraits and from his writings would seem to have had a touch of melancholy, is reported by a contemporary to have possessed a very pleasing and pretty wit in conversation; he was the delight of society, while he also had a gracious way with his workmen, to whom he taught the rules of sound building, the details and the terminology of architecture, and kept them all "allegri, trattenendoli con molte piacevolezze."³

Among them all Titian offers the most refined type of the man of pleasure too delicate and sensitive ever to pass over into excesses or to stoop to vulgarity. From his beautiful garden at the Biri the view opened away over the lagoon to the distant Alps.⁴ His chambers were often thrown open to receive his friends,

¹ Ridolfi, Vol. II.

² Ibid., p. 426.

³ Boito, *Leonardo, Michelangelo e Palladio*, pp. 233, 234. Milano, 1883.

⁴ The painter Leonardo Corona, of Murano, lived later on in Titian's house.

among whom were Giulio Camillo, the famous Florentine humanist Francesco Priscianese, Aretino, Marcolini, the Zuccato brothers, Sansovino, Jacopo Nardi, Donato Giannotti, and some noble ladies like Paola Sansovino, Giulia da Ponte and her daughter Irene da Spilimbergo. In 1540, for example, we hear that Francesco Priscianese, Sansovino, and Jacopo Nardi, met one evening for supper in Titian's house: the lagoon below them was set with thousands of little gondolas *ornate di bellissime donne e risuonanti di diverse armonie e musiche di voci e d'istrumenti*.¹ More notable visitors still were welcomed in the charming abode at the Biri; the Spanish Cardinals Granvelle and Pacecco dined there, and there Titian received princes of the blood, and Henry III of France, accompanied by the Dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino. When the artist felt the need of rest and change from the strain of work or the whirl of society, he would escape to his favourite haunts at Serravalle, at Ceneda or Conegliano.

Sansovino, too, entertained sumptuously. The earliest fruits of the season were to be found upon his table.² And many a time the Veronese architect Sammichele had a seat at the board between Titian and Aretino. Michele Parrasio, a painter but little known, yet not without talent, the intimate friend of Titian and of Veronese, to whom he left a legacy, was blessed with abundance of this world's goods, and in his well-furnished house he welcomed a host of friends, and feasted them on dainty food and costly wines, which won him many, though not always sincere, admirers of his work.³

In short, these artists pursued the joy of living without descending to degrading pleasures, but also without

¹ Priscianese, in a letter included in his treatise *Della lingua romana*.

² Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Tiziano*, I, 458.

³ Ridolfi, II, 332.

much regard for rules which are essential to the preservation of the social structure. The most upright and distinguished artists did not shrink from frequenting the salons of the famous courtesan Veronica Franco, and were not ashamed of the licentious company of Aretino, to whom even the pure and pious Sammichele was bound by strong ties of friendship. The austerity of his religious profession did not cancel in the mind of Sebastiano Luciani, called del Piombo, the recollections of his light Venetian life, even when he became a friar and received an office in the Pontifical Chancellery. "Non vi meravigliate," he writes in June, 1532, to the poet and philosopher Francesco Arsilli of Senigallia, "non state ambiguo, che la frateria mi faccia mutare natura, che sareste in grandissimo errore."¹ Sebastiano drowned his genius in idleness and ease; he liked good food better than his art, and was surrounded by a jovial crowd of friends such as Molza and Berni: the latter dedicated a poem in triplets to him, and the painter friar sent a witty reply. Fra Sebastiano was a close friend of Aretino, and in 1537 stood godfather to Aretino's daughter, named Adria in compliment to her birthplace, Venice; he painted Aretino's portrait, now in the Town Hall of Arezzo.

It is easier to understand the intimacy between Titian and the shameless adventurer at whose table he often sat enjoying the trebbian wine sent to his host by the sovereign Lady of Correggio, and the thrushes cooked with laurel leaves and pepper and the Friulan hams that came from the Count of Collalto. The friendship between Sansovino, Titian, and Aretino was in fact based on a sort of mutual benefit society, and at their banquets the three allies were simply enjoying their gains in company.²

¹ Gualandi, *Mem. risguard. le belle arti*, Ser. 1, p. 64. Bologna, 1840.

² Luzio, *Pietro Aretino nei suoi primi anni a Venezia*, p. 12. Torino, 1888.

But gaiety and good fortune were not able always to hold their own against the attacks of fate, and sometimes these artists' lives were troubled and disturbed by crime and error. All the same, at this period in the history of Venetian art, we seldom or never come across domestic tragedies or gruesome episodes. We hardly ever hear of wounds or murder, and only the name of an obscure artist here and there, such as Vitruvio Buonconsiglio, called Vitruvio, who in 1523 along with the wood-carver Francesco Maio, assaulted and wounded by night a certain Iacchia, is stained with blood. He was condemned in absence to six years' banishment,¹ while in the same year ten years' banishment was meted out to the mosaicist Vincenzo Bianchini for wounding a barber.² Vulgar crimes dim the great glory of Antonio Rizzo, the Veronese architect, and of Alessandro Leopardi. Rizzo defrauded the public treasury of 12,000 ducats, by falsifying the accounts of the Ducal Palace. When the crime was discovered, he fled.³ Leopardi, for having forged an autograph deed, was condemned in absence, in 1487, to five years' banishment. He fled to Ferrara, but the Republic was anxious to finish the Colleoni monument, and in 1498 they granted Leopardi a safe-conduct, and nothing more was heard of his banishment.

If we remember that profound respect for the law which was one of the leading characteristics of the Venetian government, we cannot but be amazed at such facile indulgence which illustrates the value attached to art in those days. Patricians were not permitted to break the law; artists occasionally were, even if their

¹ Ludwig, *Bonifazio de' Pitati*. op. cit.

² Zanetti, *Della pitt. Ven.*, p. 569. Venezia, 1771.

³ "Questo Antonio Rizzo dal novantaotto havea speso ottantamila ducati e no era fatto la mittà della fabbrica; e fo descoverta che l'haveva falsificà polizze all'officio del Sal, per 12,000 ducati; e fugì e andete in Romagna; e puoco dapuò morite a Fuligno; e tutto quel che è sta trovà del so, ghe è stà venduto." Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, Part II, p. 674.

genius and their fame were insufficient to lend some colour to such unwonted clemency. For example, in April, 1524, an able glass-blower of Murano, called Plinio dal Sol, *dete un cortelo nella gola*, and killed a certain Bortolo de Zan, a Bergamasque. Plinio was banished and sought refuge in Mantua. His father petitioned the Council of Ten for a pardon, and cunningly raised a doubt lest, *sollecitato dall' illustrissimo Duca*, his son might possibly *levar fornace de cristalli in quel loco*. The interests of trade overrode the claims of justice, and pardon was granted.¹

But, on the other hand, the severity with which artists were sometimes treated seems to offer a curious proof of inconsistency, unless we bear in mind that governments, even the wisest, are subject to human aberrations. The Republic was far from lenient towards Andrea dal Verrocchio, who was summoned to Venice to make a model for the horse of the Colleoni monument. When Andrea was well advanced with the work, he learned that the government, yielding to solicitation and intrigue, had resolved to leave him the horse only, giving the order for the figure to Bellano of Padua. Andrea, in a fit of indignation, broke the head and legs of his model and left for Florence. The Senate condemned him to perpetual banishment from Venetian territory on pain of death; but coming to a calmer mood, they recalled him. Andrea returned, and began to piece together his broken model; but death overtook him. By his will he desired that his work should be continued by his pupil, Lorenzo de' Credi;² but his wish was ignored, and Leopardi completed the monument.

Both Sansovino and the Zuccati experienced similar trials. Jacopo Tatti was born in Florence in 1477, and was called Sansovino from the fatherly bringing

¹ Arch. di Stato, Proc. *de supra*, Decr. e Termin., II, 211.

² Gaye, *Cart. ined. d'artisti*, I, 36g.

up which he received from Andrea Contucci da Monte San Savino in Tuscany. Tatti had already been in Venice in 1523, and flying from the siege of Rome in 1527, he returned there to fix his dwelling in the lagoons. He was named Master-builder of the Republic, and the Library was intrusted to him; but in the course of construction, on the night of December 18, 1545, the vault of the great Hall fell in. The city felt the blow as a public calamity, and sorrow quickly changed into anger against the person who, in common opinion, had failed to prevent the catastrophe. Sansovino was imprisoned. The collapse of the vault was due to the effect of hard frost on fresh mortar and to the salvoes of artillery fired by a ship just arrived from Beirut, which shook the structure. In truth, December is not the month for building walls and vaults; but the punishment was excessive for an error on the part of a man of such genius, who, as his son Francesco rightly claims, had *conservata e salvata* the Basilica of San Marco. Aretino, who, in spite of many vices, was not without good qualities and was a stanch friend in some cases, comforted the wife of the architect and wrote to Titian, who was then in Rome, to implore his protection, which proved both prompt and efficacious on behalf of their mutual friend. Sansovino's pupils, first Danese Cantaneo and then others, along with Don Diego de Mendoza, ambassador of Charles V, undertook the defence of the master, who, if not unjustly accused, was at least too severely punished. Sansovino was released from prison, but was subjected to a fine and was dismissed from his post as Master-builder, to which he was restored only in the following year.¹ He resumed his work without displaying any ill-will, and preserved his natural serenity of temper, which was only disturbed for a time by the bad conduct of his son Francesco, who

¹ *Processo fatto a Giacomo Sansovino per la caduta della Libreria.* A thesis for degree of Doctor. Venezia, 1836.

had been born in Rome in 1521, and was brought to Venice when six years of age. Francesco sowed his wild oats and settled down with profit to his studies. He has minutely described the city, which he loved as his native land. He bestowed the greatest affection on his father, who died in 1570, at the age of ninety-three, in the house at the end of the Procuratie Vecchie which the government had assigned him in 1529, and was buried in San Geminiano.¹

Another remarkable trial was that of Francesco and Valerio Zuccato, the mosaic-workers whose story inspired George Sand's well-known novel. The two brothers were at work on the Vision of the Apocalypse which covers the inside of the vault over the great door of Saint Mark's, when there came to the ears of the procurators a charge against the artists; it was whispered, chiefly by their ungrateful pupil Bartolomeo Bozza, that the Zuccato employed in *eorum labore et opera plura inconvenientia*,² especially by using the brush in place of mosaic in many parts of their work. An inquiry was opened, and in order to determine whether fraud existed or not, on May 9, 1563, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Schiavone, and other less famous artists were called upon for their opinion. Though they were unable to deny that certain secondary parts of the composition were painted, they almost unanimously endeavoured to excuse the Zuccato brothers. Titian's evidence was the most favourable. He admitted brush-work in some places, but added: "Io vi dico che quanto aspetta all'opera del mosaico, io non vedo da meglio, cioè intendendo delle opere tutte della gesia." Titian could not forget the friendship which bound him to the Zuccato; he was godfather in Francesco's family, *chè gli battezzò una putta che gli morse*, and yielding to his feeling of affection

¹ Cicogna, *Iscriz.*, VII, 16.

² Arch. di Stato, Proc. 182, B. 78.

he concluded by saying, *a me par che i ghe fazza torto a questi homeni da ben.*

And yet Titian, who showed himself such a firm friend, is sometimes charged with jealousy of his rivals and even of his own pupils, — of Tintoretto, for example, whom he is said to have dismissed from his studio, and of his own brother Francesco, who, although he possessed a lively imagination and a skilful hand as a draughtsman, nevertheless gave himself up to trade on the advice of his brother, who feared to see a rival in the family. It is quite true that Titian avoided teaching if he could help it, but that was because of the wearisomeness of the task; we cannot suppose that the master whose position was so secure could possibly have been influenced by jealousy. Nay, it is said that one day, on meeting Veronese in the piazza di San Marco, he openly declared that in him he greeted "the glory of painting," and again in 1530, when looking at the Correggios in the church of the Benedictines at Parma, he exclaimed: "Oh! ringraziato il Cielo, che finalmente ho trovato un pittore!" He admired Tintoretto's imagination and Previtali's power of expression; he appreciated Lotto's judgment, and regarded Moroni as an incomparable portrait-painter; he praised Jacopo da Ponte for his animals and was a close friend of Palma.¹ Aretino never says that Titian was chary in recognising the work and the genius of others, but he inveighs against those who were jealous of his friend; and yet the unscrupulous backbiter never failed to give a rough lick of his tongue to any little weaknesses in his companions; writing in 1545, he accuses Titian of avariciousness, *non dando cura o obbligo che si habbia con amico, nè a dovere che si convenga a parente.*² This, in truth, was the real defect which sullied the noble spirit of Titian, and as the result on his conduct resembled

¹ Cadorin, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

² Aretino, *Lettere*, III, 288.

closely the effect that would have been produced by envy, perhaps the one was mistaken for the other.

The broker's post in the Exchange was the chief cause of the quarrel between Titian and Zorzi of Castelfranco, both of whom had supporters even in the Doge's private chamber. In 1516, on the death of Giovanni Bellini, Titian received the sinecure. But on June 23, 1537, it was taken from him by the Council of Ten, because he would not finish the picture of the Battle of Spoleto for the Ducal Palace, though he was continually accepting commissions from foreign princes. The Ten further proposed to give the commission for the picture to follow Titian's on the wall, to his bitterest rival, Pordenone. The aversion felt by Paris Bordon for Titian, though less violent and not so explicit, was hardly less profound. Bordon received his early training in Titian's studio. "Ma non vi consumò molti anni," says Vasari, "perciocchè vedendo quell' uomo non essere molto vago d'insegnare ai suoi giovani, anche pregato da loro sommamente ed invitato con la pazienza a portarsi bene, si risolvè a partirsi." But the master, besides neglecting his pupil, did him a still worse turn when he was barely nineteen years of age; for Titian, in his greed of gain, filched from Bordon a commission for a picture in the church of San Niccolò of the Minorites. Titian's correspondence with Duke Federico Gonzaga proves how sharply he looked after his own interests. In April, 1533, he asks the Duke to induce the friars of San Benedetto, in Polirone, to cede to him *trentatrè campi di terra nel territorio di Treviso*, which would be a good investment for *li scudi guadagnati con l'Imperatore Carlo V, acciocchè non vadano in malhora*. But the friars asked too high a price, and the artist, in a temper, ended by calling them *poltroni*.¹ We have a still graver

¹ Braghirolli, *Tiziano alla Corte dei Gonzaga*, p. 15 (extract from the *Atti e Mem. dell'Acc. Virgiliana*. Mantova, 1881).

demonstration of Titian's avaricious temper in a letter, dated June 21, 1549, written by Benedetto Agnella, Mantuan ambassador in Venice. Titian had painted the portrait of Catherine of Austria, wife of Francesco, Duke of Mantua. Agnella one day met the artist, who asked if the picture had reached its destination. "Ed io," writes Agnella, "dicendogli di sì, mi domandò se gli era stato mandato a donar cosa alcuna, et rispondendogli di no, egli soggiunse che non si poteva persuadere che Sua Ex. non fosse per fargli un presente conveniente a la grandezza sua et al merito dell'opera et che quando facesse altrimenti sarà sforzato a dir peggio dell'Aremino!"¹ It is sad to think that Titian, in order to hasten a payment which was quite secure, should have stooped to threaten calumnies more scurrilous than Aremino's.

We must, however, admit that, on the whole, avarice is a vice rare among artists, above all, at this period. Veronese was content with modest sums, while Tintoretto was so indifferent to gain that if a patron complained of his charge he would sometimes make a free gift of the work.² Alessandro Vittoria proved himself the prompt and kindly benefactor of Andrea Schiavone, whose grinding poverty reduced him to painting landscapes, foliage, grotesques and other ornamentation on wedding coffers. "Ebbe contrarissima

¹ Luzio, *Spigolature tizianesche* (in the *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, Anno III, 1890, p. 210).

² In the *Sommario delle spese fatte nella fabbrica della veneranda scuola di san Rocco*, an extract from the *Libri maestri della Scuola* (1517-1563), runs thus: *Per contadi al Tintoretto, pittor, per sue mercedi di tutti li quadri, triangoli, ed altre pitture fatte in detto sofittado, d'accordo Di. ti V. ti 200.* Quoted by Selvatico, *Storia dell'arte del dis.*, II, 566. Venezia, 1856. For the great picture of the Crucifixion Tintoretto received only ducati dusento et cinquanta quali sono per integro pagamento, as the artist himself acknowledges in the receipt. (Nicoletti, *Ch. e Sc. di S. Rocco*, p. 26. Venezia, 1885.) The magnificent "Christ before Pilate," and its companion "Christ on the Way to Golgotha," brought the artist 131.4 ducats. As to the *tansa*, or annual stipend voted for the master, it amounted to 100 ducats, but Tintoretto was obliged to furnish three pictures a year.

sempre la sorte," says Ridolfi, " nè conobbe giammai cura cortese dall'inimica sua fortuna e appena potè da' suoi degni e virtuosi sudori trarre il necessario alimento della vita." It is not easy to understand how Andrea Meldola, whose artistic merits were so highly appreciated that Tintoretto advised every painter to keep a picture by him in his studio as a valuable lesson in colour, found it difficult to procure the bare necessities of life, especially when we remember that a whole troop of sculptors, painters, architects, engravers, wood-carvers flocked to Venice to study, practised their art, lived there for long, and easily earned a competence. If the famous miniaturist Giulio Clovio, born in Croatia in 1490, met with a munificent patron at Venice in the person of Cardinal Grimani, is not the Republic to blame for her lack of generosity towards this son of Dalmatia, — Venetian territory, which numbered among its illustrious progeny Laurana and Domenico of Capodistria, both architects, the sculptor Giovanni called il Dalmata, and the medallist Paolo of Ragusa? Many Dalmatians and Sclavs of a fame far inferior to Meldola's lived at ease in Venice before and after his day. We have early records of Dalmatian artificers, mostly miniaturists; for example, the painters Niccolò of Zara, Zuccato and Francesco de Domenicis, wardens of the Scuola degli Schiavoni, Stefano Cernotto, author of two pictures in the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi, Matteo Ponzzone, all famous in their day;¹ also the

¹ *Mariegola della Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, Arch. di Stato, Prov. di Commun. Reg. P. Sest. di Castello, I, 179. We cannot affirm that the Zuccato, warden of the Dalmatian Guild, is the same as the Sebastiano Zuccato, author of a poor picture now in the Museo Civico, and thought, but without sufficient reason, to have been Titian's first master in Venice. But as we are not sure of Sebastiano's birthplace, some making him a native of the Valtellina, others of Treviso, new documents may prove that the reputed early master of Titian was really a Dalmatian. The other warden, Francesco de Domenicis, was a miniaturist; he had a shop at San Giuliano at the sign of the "Tempo." He was a relation of Stefano Cernotto of Arbe, another Dalmatian artist, who

brothers Francesco and Gregorio Miroseo, sons of Luca of Sebenico, who lived in the parish of Santa Sofia. The wills of these two brothers are highly interesting, and throw much light on the lives of these Dalmatian folk, who were continually exposed to attack by the Turk and found refuge in their beloved Venice. Francesco, by his last testament, dated August 17, 1535,¹ appoints his *carissima consorte Julia* his universal heir, makes bequests to his brother Gregorio and to his niece, and leaves to his *lavorante e compare Thodaro la sua capa niova et tutte le cose che aspettano ala arte di pictura exceptuando li disegni vendareschi*. For the purpose of selecting, valuing, and selling these drawings, the testator appoints one of the witnesses to the will, Sebastiano Serlio, the famous architect, who lived for some time in Venice and in Dalmatia, where he made many friends. The will of the miniaturist Gregorio Miroseo, is even more valuable.² It is dated July 25, 1539; the testator declares that he is a member of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, and desires to be buried in the Confraternity's tomb in San Giovanni del Tempio. He bequeaths his modest possessions to his wife Urania, and to Gasparo and Felicita, two natural children, but, as he declares, *siano come siano li voglio come legitimi quali amo cordialmente come è il dovere*. He laments that he has not been able to discharge all the trusts left to him by his father and his brothers in favour of other relations, as the family property in Dalmatia had suffered severely *per le ruine che sono seguite per li perfidi Turchi*.

As a proof of the generous hospitality which artificers

died before 1543. Matteo Ponzzone painted for the Scuola of the Dalmatians a Saint George on horseback, which used to be over the altar of the Dalmatians in San Giovanni del Tempio. The picture is now at the Madonna dell'Orto.

¹ Arch. di Stato, Sezione notarile, Atti not. Bianco Carlo, Busta 79, No. 397.

² Ibid., Atti not. Marino Bondio, Busta 642, No. 165.

of every country enjoyed in Venice we may take the case of the Bergamasques. They formed a numerous colony in the city, and became Venetians by right of that citizenship which time, habits, family connections, and friendship create. When Bergamo came under the dominion of the Republic (1427), many Bergamasques emigrated to Venice, where for the most part they took up their abode in the parishes of San Cassiano, Santa Maria Mater Domini, and San Boldo. They were a hard-working people of lively intelligence. Some became glass-blowers and silk-weavers (*veluderi, samiteri, lanieri*); others took to humbler callings, and became porters, or pedlers who went the round of the fairs with their boxes slung from their necks, selling *cordelle ed aghi*, needles and thread. One of these Bergamasque pedlers was the ancestor of that charming painter Andrea Previtali, who took his surname of *Cordegliaghi*¹ from the pedler's calling, a custom common to the Bergamasques, for it was their habit to

¹ Critics are not agreed on the subject of Previtali's name. Some, like Cavalcaselle, believe that Cordegliaghi is a nickname; others, like Giovanni Morelli, reject this opinion, arguing that this name, which is essentially Venetian in form, could not have been given to a native of Bergamo, where *cordelle* and *aghi* are called *nistole* and *gogie*. They accordingly have supposed the existence of two masters, — one called Previtali, the other Cordegliaghi. But such arguments fall to the ground before documents and the examination of the Previtali genealogy, which is complicated. The family came from the Valle d'Imagna, and many of them settled in the territory of Isola, between the Adda and the Brembo. Ludwig is inclined on various grounds to conclude that a branch settled in the village of Brembate, and took the surname of Cordegliaghi because one of their ancestors had visited the fairs of the Veneto selling *Cordelle ed aghi*. In fact, in the National Gallery in London there is a picture signed Andrea Cordelle agi, followed by a paleographical symbol signifying twenty-four years of age. The picture belongs to the year 1504, so that this Andrea would have been born in 1480, precisely the year of Andrea Previtali's birth. Thus we have identity of name and age, and we may add of style, if we compare the Cordegliaghi paintings with those of Previtali. It is certain that Previtali signed himself in various ways. At Venice, in order to distinguish himself from the sculptor Andrea da Bergamo, he assumed the surname of his family Cordegliaghi. At Ceneda, where he painted the splendid "Annunciation," Titian's favourite picture, he signed *Andrea Bergomensis*. At Bergamo he employs the name known and honoured by all, *Andreas*.

repeat the same Christian names from generation to generation, and therefore they were obliged, for purposes of identification, to adopt nicknames, which they usually took from their professions. In Venice we find many Bergamasques who dedicated themselves to the nobler arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting. The architects and sculptors came for the most part from the Valle del Serio, the painters from the Val Brembana. With the exception of Previtali, the majority of Bergamasques who left their native hills to settle in Venice made new homes for themselves, lived together in friendly intercourse, taught their young compatriots, employed Bergamasque notaries for their affairs, and chose the shops of Bergamasques for the conduct of their business. Their thoughts and their affections were ever turned to their distant home, and thither they sent back the products of their genius in paintings which still adorn so many churches of the Bergamasco.¹ Although bred in Venetian workshops, they never lost their native simplicity; nor is it possible to confound their work with the paintings of the true Venetian school, for they all display a family likeness and preserve certain qualities peculiar to the hardy mountain race. Their imagination is not fiery, nor their ideas profound, but they possess great technical skill, brilliancy of colour, a rustic *naïveté* of composition, breathing the spirit of their native valleys filled with running waters and their mountains crowned with solitary little

Previtalis, accompanied sometimes by a monogram, as in the case of the picture in the church of the Santo Spirito at Venice. See Ludwig, *Gli artisti bergamaschi in Venezia*. In this monograph Ludwig throws fresh light on the following Bergamasque artists: Francesco di Simone da Santa Croce, Francesco Rizzo da Santa Croce, Zuanne di Vecchi called di Galizi, Girolamo, Francesco, and Pietro Paolo da Santa Croce, Alvise Donato, Giovanni di Giovanni Busi called Cariani, Prete Vito Celere, Licinio da Lodi, Rigo, Fabio Giulio and Bernardino Licinio, Andrea Previtali, Antonio Boselli, Palma Vecchio, Alvise di Serafin and Alessandro Oliverio, Giacomo detto Pistoia, etc.

¹ Ludwig, loc. cit.

churches in green meadows where the flocks are at pasture. "The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel" by Palma Vecchio may serve as a pleasing example of their style.

Newly discovered documents and recent research have destroyed many errors about the painters of Bergamo. For instance, it used to be thought that Rizzo was the name of the family of painters known as Santa Croce; but the oldest of these Santa Croce, Francesco di Simone, was not the father, nor yet a relation, of the painter Rizzo, but merely the master of Francesco Rizzo de Vecchis da Santa Croce, known in history as Francesco Rizzo da Santa Croce.¹ Nor is it any longer certain that between 1480 and 1490 the vigorous painter, Giovanni Busi, called Cariani,² was born at Fuipiano in Val Brembana; it is more probable that he saw the light in Venice.³

¹ The family of Santa Croce never bore the name Rizzo. Ludwig has shown that the painter who signs himself Franciscus Rizus is not, as has been believed, Francesco di Simone, but only a pupil of his, called Francesco de Vecchis, nicknamed Gallizi, or Rizzo, son of Bernardino. On July 31, 1492, Francesco di Simone wedded *la honestissima Madona Lucia Trevisan fiola che fo del quondam ser Alvise et sorella del prudente homo ser Vettor Trevisan coltrier del confin de san Pantalon*. On October 28, 1508, the painter made his will, and among his bequests to the Scuola della Misericordia in the village of Santa Croce and many other dispositions we find this legacy to a pupil: *Item lego Francisco Rilio filio ser Bernardi q^m ser Johannis de Vecchis de Sancta Croce penellos, lapides super quibus teruntur colores, designia et omnia alia instrumenta artis picture*, etc. Of this Francesco de Vecchis, native of Bergamo, of the surname Rizzo, we have a picture signed by him and dated 1513 (it is in the Academy at Venice and represents the Resurrection), and in the parish church of Serinalta the fragments of an Ancona of 1518, the contract for which was published by the engineer Elia Fornoni.

² Morelli, *Della pitt. ital.*, p. 247.

³ Cariani's father came from Fuipiano. His name was Giovanni, and he was *preco et ministerialis Curie Palatii*, that is to say, comandador del Magistrato del Proprio. He held this office as early as 1510, and he must at that date have already been some years in Venice, for so important an office would not be given to a young stranger who had just arrived in the lagoons. The documents of the Archives of Fuipiano which mention *Giovanni Cariani del q^m Giovanni*, supposed to refer to the painter, must refer to the painter's father, Giovanni *quondam ser Johannis de Busis*. Grandfather, father, and son had all the same name, as was the habit among the Bergamasques. The first positive mention we have of the painter is in the will of

We have already observed that many critics have held that Bernardino Licinio, the painter, came from Friuli, in spite of the fact that as early as 1677 Donato Calvi, a Bergamasque writer, had claimed him for Bergamo.¹ The Licinio of Postcantù, now Poscante, were a large clan, and some of them emigrated from their mountains to the neighbouring cities of the plain, Lodi, Casalmaggiore, Cremona, and so on, and in larger numbers still to Venice, where they became cloth-merchants or weavers or glass-blowers. The Licinio owned three large furnaces at Murano at the signs of the *Pigna aurea*, the *Cappello*, and the *Dragone*; while many of the same name were employed in other furnaces, in Beroviero's famous workshop, for example. Some made a fortune and were enrolled in the Libro d'oro of Murano; they spent their well-earned gains in charity and on works of art. We have, for example, Tomaso Licinio, the owner of the shop at the sign of the *Dragone*, who commissioned Carpaccio to paint for the church of San Pietro Martire in Murano the beautiful altar-piece which now adorns the Museum of Stuttgart, where Licinio's little son is

his wife, Joanna Natal, sister of the Bergamasque Alvise, notary and priest in the church of San Boldo. The will is dated 1517; the testatrix, before setting out for a journey to Bergamo, makes her testament in which an adopted daughter Adriana is mentioned. If they had already adopted a child, it is probable that the couple had lost all hopes of offspring, which implies that they had been married some years. The artist was probably born in Venice; he is never called di Fuipiano, whereas his father, the comandador, even though in Venetian service, never omits to call himself *da Fuipiano*. It is certain that Cariani passed his infancy in Venice, and went but rarely to Bergamo, nor did he stay there; he was already Venetian in art and in ideas before Palma il Vecchio reached Venice from Serinalta. In 1517 Cariani was one of the governing body of the Scuola dei Pittori. In the Venetian documents Giovanni Busi is not only called Cariani, but also *Zuane de ser Juannin comandador*, the style by which he appears in Morelli's *Anomino* and as he signs himself (*del fu Zanin comandador*) in 1544, eight years after the death of his father. Ludwig, *op. cit.*

¹ Calvi P. Donato, *Effemeride sacro-profana di quanto di memorabile sia successo in Bergamo*, III, 308. Milano, 1677.

represented kneeling before Saint Thomas Aquinas. The branch of the Licinio family which became painters and settled in Venice, descended from Antonio, whose eldest son, Arrigo, is called a painter in public documents as early as 1512. We know that Arrigo had a large family, but no traces of his paintings remain. We must conclude that he worked along with his more famous brother, Bernardino, of whom we have mention for the first time in 1511 and for the last in 1549. Bernardino must have remained a bachelor; no document ever hints that he had a wife and family, and it is certainly not his, but his brother Arrigo's family,¹ which is represented in the well-known picture of the Borghese Gallery, where Bernardino has written this inscription:

EXPRIMIT HIC FRATREM TOTA CUM GENTE LYCINUS
ET VITAM HIS FORMA PROROGAT, ARTE SIBI

B. LYCINII OPUS

Bernardino also painted Agnese, the wife of his brother, in a picture now in the Prado at Madrid. In the Borghese picture Arrigo, then about forty-eight and his wife thirty-six, are represented surrounded by seven children, among whom we can recognise Fabio, who became a goldsmith and printer (he holds in his hands a little model of the torso of the Belvedere); and Camilio, a thoughtful-looking boy, standing on his mother's right, who grew up to be a famous physician, and Giulio, a little lad with his cap full of roses, who will one day paint Ferdinand of Austria.² The remaining four probably died young.

¹ It is strange that, from Scannelli (*Microcosmo della pittura*, 1657) to Venturi (*Catalogo della Galleria Borghese*, 1893), everybody has said that the picture represents Bernardino's family, when the inscription distinctly declares that the subject is his brother's family.

² The Albertina at Vienna has three engravings of Fabio Licinio. At Gratz there are several pictures by Giulio—the Imperial painter—the frescoes on a house at Augsburg, a picture in the church of Lonno in the Bergamasco, and part of the ceiling of the Library of San Marco.

Of all the Bergamasque painters in Venice, Jacopo Palma il Vecchio achieved the highest distinction. He was a man of a sweet and gentle disposition and absolutely free from jealousy. Born in 1480, at Serinalta, in the Bergamasco, his family name was Negretti.¹ *Io Jacomo de Ant. Negreti depentor*, he signs himself as witness to the will of Sofia, wife of the Bergamasque Rocco Dossena, *telarol*, dated January 8, 1510. In another document of January 8, 1513, he signs *Io Jacomo Palma depentor*. In 1510, then, he does not call himself Palma; but his reason for assuming that name is certainly not, as has been supposed, any intention to refer to the symbolical *Palma* of Victory. Nicknames were of common occurrence among the Bergamasques, and we find one of Jacomo's compatriots, Giovanni Antonio Panizzolo of Zogno, also calling himself Palma in 1536.

In Venice Palma lodged first at San Stae before he moved to San Basso. From his declaration of property (1523) we gather that he possessed an estate at Montagnana. Shortly before 1524 his brother Bartolomeo died, and Palma returned to his beloved village of Serinalta, which he has represented in his picture of "Jacob and Rachel," to put the family affairs in order and to take care of his orphaned nephews, to whom he behaved as a father, himself remaining a bachelor all his life. Thus the story, believed by Boschini and others, that the beautiful Flora, beloved and painted by Titian, was Palma's daughter, falls to the ground; and Palma himself painted the same splendid model under the name of Violante. If it be urged that Palma, though a deeply religious man, may have had illegitimate children, we are at a loss to explain why he makes no mention of them in his will by which he benefited his other relatives so generously. Palma was by no means averse to pleasant company, and his winning

¹ Fornoni, *Notizie biografiche su Palma Vecchio*. Bergamo, 1886.

manners procured him the friendship of the procurator Francesco Priuli, whose guest he was in town and country. His passionate devotion to art led him to embrace all artists as brothers. It is not true that, as some have believed, he was ever a rival of Titian in the competition for the picture of Peter Martyr; as a matter of fact, Palma was one of the members of the guild dedicated to that saint, who in 1525 petitioned the Council of Ten for leave to increase the sum subscribed for the picture in order to secure the services of one of the foremost painters of the day.¹ The commission was given to Titian, who painted the masterpiece destroyed by the fire of 1867.

In 1522 it is said that Jacopo was struck down by the malady that gradually led him to the grave in 1528, but we can hardly believe that the illness lasted so many years.² By his will of 1528 Palma appointed as his trustees three persons of humble position, the wine-merchant Marco, called *Bayetto di Passagiis dal Payer*, a village near Serinalta, *Zuan de Lavallo*, a

¹ Giomo, *San Pietro Martire e Tiziano* (in the *Nuovo Arch. Veneto*, new series, T. VI, Part I, p. 58). It is to be observed that it was not the governing body (*Banca*) of the guild who gave the commission. Palma and other members of the governing body, in their private capacity, had asked leave to pay for the picture, which was to be placed in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The Chiefs of the Ten granted permission on November 30, 1525, but that was cancelled two months later. It was the warden Giacomo da Pergo who gave the work to Titian a little later, and the artist had to take his employer to court in order to recover his fee.

² On April 21, 1528, about three months before his death at the age of forty-eight, Palma went to the house of Hieronima, widow of Cristoforo Bando, to witness her will. On July 28 of the same year the painter summoned to his new house at San Basso Alvise Natal, brother-in-law of Cariani, notary and priest of San Boldo, in order to dictate his will. Two days later, he died, as we learn from the necrology of the Scuola di San Marco; his niece Margherita, who, as soon as she was grown up, had been brought to Venice to take charge of the house of her bachelor uncle, tended him lovingly to the end. From Palma's papers we learn that *Zuane* the physician received three crowns *per el medegar de ser Giacomo* and then a ducat more to be in attendance *de di et de note a governar ser Jacopo*. Other payments were made to Francesco Corona for nursing the painter for seventeen days. All this would lead us to conclude that Palma's illness was acute, not chronic. Ludwig, *op. cit.*

fruiterer, and *Fantin Tiraboschi*, dyer, all of them relations of the testator. In the generosity of his heart he left legacies to the children of his brother Bartolomeo, and to other poor relations of the Negretti family in Serinalta. The inventory made after his death contains the following items among the modest outfit of his niece Margherita: "7 fazoleti per uso di Margarita . . . 1 cadenela d'oro con una croseta per uso di Margarita — 1 veste de sarza verde facta roana per uso de Margarita . . . una scufia stricà d'oro per Margarita." Among the unfinished pictures, about forty in all, left by Palma, we find *1 retrado de messer Francesco Quirini de circa quarte 3*; it is now in the Quirini-Stampalia Gallery. Quirini, on the occasion of his marriage with Paola Priuli on April 30, 1528, commissioned Palma to paint the bride; the portrait is thus described in the inventory: *il quaro de una dona retrata con fornimenti de nogera . . . con maneghe de raso zalo*. This is probably the sketch, now in the same gallery; it represents a young woman in a robe of a rich brown pattern with sleeves of yellow satin, in all likelihood Paolo Priuli, the wife of Quirini.

Careful search among old papers has thrown light on the technique and the apparatus of these artists' studios. Lotto employed lay figures, *modelletti di legno che si snodano*, which he bought from a Venetian wood-carver; *rilievi de iesso et di cerra*, engravings, a few cameos, a small amount of lapis lazuli *in polvere da asinarli per cavarne lo azzuro*, colours, varnish, oil, glue, lacquer, gum mastic,¹ turpentine, resin, and a mortar *de marmo*

¹ Here is Sansovino's receipt, *per far cerra da lavorar de rilievo che non attacha et morbida*:

"Cera . . .	lbs. 10
Trementina . . .	" 1
Sevo . . .	" — $\frac{1}{2}$
Fumo . . .	" — onze $1\frac{1}{2}$ "

et fa bulir in seme, et getta sul fondo del sechier bagnato: che non attachara et resta sotile da posser manegiar."

fino alquanto incavata for grinding colours with its pestle (*macinello*) of Istrian stone. Lotto's notebook also gives us some idea of the prices paid for models. He paid old beggarmen eight soldi to sit to him for his saints; nude female models cost more, and the painter notes

"retrar femine nude lire 3, s. 10
per spogliar femina nuda solo veder . . . s. 12"¹

In their private papers, and more especially in their wills, we see the homely habits of these masters who, with some few exceptions, were good, gentle, and modest men.

At this period of Venetian history the ancient guild of painters appears to us as it were a united family. Vincenzo Catena in his will, dated April 15, 1530, besides various legacies and charities in favour of the poorer members of the guild, left a sum of money to build the Scuola dei Pittori under the protection of San Luca. The guild used to meet in the church of San Luca, and the new guild hall was built in the Calle Sporca at Santa Sofia. Its façade bore a stone slab, now in the Seminary, with the image of the Evangelist and his bull, and this inscription:

PICTORES ET SOLUM EMERUNT ET HAS CONSTRUXERUNT
AEDES BONIS A VINCENTIO CATENA PICTORE SUO COLLEGIO
RELICTIS. MDXXXII.

The *Mariegola* of 1436 is little more than a rough translation into the vulgar tongue of the rude Latin in the ancient charter book of 1271-1311.² The bald language of these early statutes in spite of their uncouth

¹ *Test.* and *Libro de conti* del Lotto.

² The *Mariegola* of 1436 exists in some few fragments (*Arch. di Stato, Arti, Dipintori*, Busta I), published *per nozze* (Emporio, 1884). A *Mariegola* of May 1, 1676, with additions down to August 8, 1732, is now in the Museo Civico. The art embraced the following branches: 1. *Dipintori*; 2. *Doratori*; 3. *Miniatori*; 4. *Disegnatori* and *ricamatori* for stuffs; 5. *Fabbricatori di cuori d'oro*; 6. *Cartolai* (playing-card makers); 7. *Maschereri*; 8. *Targheri*.

form shows us a strong and direct feeling for the corporate spirit, and shrewd common sense is manifest in certain provisions; for example, the one which forbids any member "de tuor et far alcun lavorerio che altri maestri havessero tolto a far sopra de sè."

And so, in this age, which was rapidly changing under contact with the outer world, and owing to the general decay of national manners and customs, we still find traces of that excellent race of artists who had already grown old-fashioned and out of date. Art in its finer manifestations springs from the humble workshops of artificers, of the men who decorated cofferers, chairs, church furniture, bucklers, banners, standards, hangings for houses. Lazzaro Bastiani, of whom we have the earliest mention in 1449 and who died in 1512, gathered round him a band of unknown handicraftsmen, mostly bound to him by ties of blood, like his elder brother Marco, the curtain-painter (*coltrier*, *cortiner*), his sons Vincenzo, Sebastian, and Giovanni, his nephews Alvise and Cristoforo, all dedicated to the same humble calling of industrial artisans.¹ Nor did the more celebrated painters disdain to associate with their humbler brethren, and they would sometimes exhibit their works to the public in the shops of the cofferers and furniture-makers at San Marco or along the Merceria. At guild meetings the greatest masters would find themselves seated side by side with simple gilders and makers of playing-cards, and all were called without distinction *Fratelli*. Sebastiano Zuccato, Vittore Belliniano, Rocco Marconi, and Domenico Tintoretto would have, as colleagues on the governing body of the guild, Master Domenico Draghia, the cofferer, or Master Piero di San Basso, curtain-painter. Nor would *Tician da Cador depentor* nor *Bordon Paris figurer* refuse to act with a common house-painter. Piero Lombardo, the great sculptor,

¹ Ludwig and Molmenti, *Carpaccio*, Doc. to Chap. I.

PRIVATE LIFE OF VENETIAN ARTISTS 203

gladly mixed with ordinary stone-masons and stone-cutters and acted as warden of their guild.

Such simple habits and such freedom of intercourse did not prevent strict discipline among the members, while it helped to bring out individual character ; but both disappeared with the decline of civic power, and in the seventeenth century the painters insisted on separating themselves from the gilders and decorators and such common folk, and, despising the good old name of *Arte* for their guild, they adopted the high-sounding title of *Collegio* ; the sculptors followed suit in the same century, and separating themselves from the stone-masons erected a College of Sculptors.¹

¹ Sagredo, *Sulle consorterie delle Arti edificative*, pp. 90, 94.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCIENTIFIC MOVEMENT — OCCULT SCIENCES AND VULGAR ERRORS — LITERATURE, POETRY, AND SATIRE

THERE is no need to insist upon the close connection between the public and private life of a people and its letters, science, arts, its intellectual activity; and if our object be to examine every department of Venetian life, we must perforce turn our attention to her development in science and letters.

In Venice, as elsewhere, the fruitful movement of the Renaissance, which reawoke the antique sense of beauty and the classical interpretation of life, poured a flood of light on the meaning of manuscripts and marbles. It is true that the Italian spirit had never entirely lost touch, even in remote times, with ancient Greco-Latin culture; the rough rind of the Middle Ages enclosed the flower of the pagan Renaissance; but when that flower blossomed in all its wealth of colour and of perfume, the minds of men received a new bent. During the Middle Ages Aristotle had reigned supreme in science. Knowledge was moulded on the subtle and captious rules of Averroes and the schoolmen. But by the middle of the Quattrocento Neoplatonism, thanks to the influence of Gemistos Plethon, Theodore Gaza, Bessarion, and other Greeks, began to challenge the Aristotelian doctrine. The fact is a notable one, which exercised a far-reaching influence not only on the course of study, but upon the direction of civil life as well; for while Aristotle taught that commerce was the backbone of States, Plato, on the other hand,

forbade the rulers of his ideal Republic to embark on trade. These new ideas slowly found their way into the scheme of Venetian education, and gradually caused the nobility to withdraw from commerce; they ceased to frequent Rialto, and abandoned their ancient privilege of sending their sons on board the State galleys to learn the double business of trade and navigation; they no longer turned their ground-floors into warehouses; if they went to sea, they went as captains not as merchants, and though they did not abandon commerce entirely, they still preferred more refined pursuits, the pleasures of a more delicate intelligence, the delights of letters and of art, which are usually the adornments of a people in repose.

We must, however, admit that the Venetians did not allow themselves to be too easily caught by the seductions of a literature which under sonorous phrases hid a poverty of ideas, nor by the blandishments of artificial verse; and if the flood of Petrarchism flowed deeper here than elsewhere, still the sense of freedom and of political life kept vigorous the mind of the nation, in which the passion of battle and the zeal of traffic were not yet dead. The Venetians were the least rhetorical people in the world; they cared more for facts than for phrases, and held that literature was worthy of loving study, it is true, but was not the sole end of life.

The spirit of enterprise to which Venice owed her glory had died down, but was not yet entirely extinct; she had not yet completely renounced those severer studies which go to strengthen the mind. If the discovery of new continents had dealt a deadly blow to Venetian commerce and wrought the ruin of private fortunes, exploration was not entirely abandoned to the foreigner, and John Cabot, the great English seaman, but a Venetian citizen by decree and by choice,¹ sailed

¹ Harisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*. Paris, 1881. See too Marinelli's researches cited in Chapter V.

for North America a year before Columbus set foot on American soil, and planted the banner of England side by side with the standard of San Marco, *per esser lui Veneziano*.¹ John Cabot's son, Sebastian, also a Venetian by birth, discovered Labrador in 1498, in 1526 explored the lower reaches of the Rio della Plata,² and so great was his fame in the shipping world that he was appointed *piloto mayor* of Spain, as was Americo Vespucci before him, and also chief pilot of England.³ In 1529 Luigi Roncinotto pushed into Further India and into Arabia; while, towards the close of the century, Cesare Federici (1563-1581) and Gaspare Balbi (1579-1581), who furnished valuable information about Asia Minor and India to the west of the Ganges, were the first to discover Pegu.

The name of Venice was known and respected in India; the gold coinage of San Marco was valued in Arabia; Vasco di Gama found the Venetian ducat at Calicut, and Cooper, the Englishman, declared that from the Mediterranean to China the sequin was the only coin in common currency.⁴ In many parts of Asia the Venetians left behind them the ordinary terms of trade, such as *peso*, *rotolo*, *cantara*, *oncia*; and the nautical language of various countries, England among others, still retains traces of the phraseology employed by the

¹ Sanudo (*Diari*, I, 807) quotes from a London letter dated August 23, 1497, and records the welcome given by the English to the Venetian traveller: "È con so mojer Veniziana e con so fioi a Bristo [Bristol] . . . Juan Talbot [Cabot] e chiamasi el gran armirante, e vienli fato grandio honor, e va vestido de seda, e sti inglexi li vano drieri a mo' pazi."

² Marco Foscarini, in his notes on Venetian explorers (published by Morpurgo in his *Marco Foscarini e Venezia nel sec. XVIII*), attributes the discovery of Florida and Newfoundland to Sebastian instead of to John Cabot. Foscarini is not clear about the Cabots. Much light has been thrown on their history by the publication of Sanudo's *Diaries* and by researches of Brown, of Harris, of Tarducci, Bellemo, Bullo, and others. The question of John Cabot's native place is still undecided; he probably came from Gaeta, but was a Venetian by adoption.

³ Uzielli and Amat di San Filippo, *Mappamondi, carte naut.*, etc., Vol. II (*Studi biog.*). Roma, 1873.

⁴ Filiati, *Memorie*, T. VI.

mariners of the Adriatic. It was therefore possible to repeat, not as an empty boast, the words which Giosafatte Barbaro employed in 1487: "Quelli che hanno vista qualche particella della terra al tempo di adesso, per la maggior parte sono mercanti, ovvero uomini dati alla marinarezza; nei quali due esercizî, dal principio suo infino al dì presente, tanto sono stati eccellenti i miei padri e signori veneziani, che credo poter dire con verità, che tengono in questa cosa il primato."

These difficult and dangerous journeys were not always made with the intent to discover new lands, to foster political interests, to open up profitable markets, or in hope of material wealth, but occasionally in the abstract interests of science and of learning, — for objects, in short, which were high and noble in their lack of immediate and practical utility. About the middle of the fifteenth century Benedetto Dandolo went to Persia in search of ancient coins and medals, and a century later Marco Bembo made a journey to Africa to study the ruins of Carthage; he then crossed Numidia and passed over to Spain to collect inscriptions in the ancient Sagunto. Pellegrino Brocardi, in 1557, traversed Lower Egypt for no other purpose than to find antiquities and to measure the Pyramids, as Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, had done twenty years earlier.

The logs of these bold seamen, descriptions of voyages at all seasons and in all countries, translations of ancient writers like Annone, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, memoirs on geography, navigation, astronomy, statistics, were all brought together in a great collection compiled by a famous cosmographer, Giambattista Ramusio, born at Treviso in 1485, who died at Padua in 1557.¹ Nor must we omit to mention the Venetians Domenico Maria Negri, who at the opening of the

¹ Del Piero, *Della vita e degli studi di G. B. Ramusio* (in the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, IV, 75).

sixteenth century wrote his "Commentaries" on geography printed at Bâle in 1557, and Benedetto Ramberti, who in 1539 published a treatise on the customs and habits of the Turks.

Naval architecture was always a favourite subject of study. Cristoforo da Canale (b. 1510, d. 1562), a brave soldier, after fighting the Turks, wrote his valuable treatise *Della milizia maritima*. The work exists in several manuscript copies, and is composed of four books dealing with shipbuilding, crews, and officers; and Vettor Fausto (b. 1480, d. 1538), with that versatility which is peculiar to the men of the Renaissance, abandoned the chair of Greek eloquence for the arsenal, where he built his famous quinquereme, which commanded universal admiration.

Map-making advanced towards perfection, and in the age with which we are dealing Venice issued the most complete maps and sailing-charts; for example, Grazioso Benincasa of Ancona published his chart in 1480; Zurla followed in 1490 with his collection of thirty-five maps; then came the mappamondo of Bernardo Silvano added to the Latin edition of Ptolemy (1511); Pietro Coppo's chart (1528); Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario* (1528); Jacopo Castaldo's four charts as an appendix to his edition of Ptolemy (1543); the Great Atlas of Battista Agnese (1534).¹ Beautifully clear-cut copper-plates of the lagoons, of the rivers, of the mainland districts, were produced; notably those of Cristoforo Sabbadino of Chioggia, the greatest master of lagoon hydraulics, of Donato di Niccolò dal Cortivo, Giulio and Cristoforo Sorte, and of other *designadori e pertegadori*; and the shops of the map-makers, where such distinguished geographers as Forlano of Verona, Porro and Bordone of Padua, the Piedmontese Gastaldo, and the Venetians Zenoi, Camori, and Bertelli produced

¹ Lazari, *Viaggiatori e Navigat. Veneziani* (in *Venezia e le sue Lagune*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 281).

their atlases, were also served by able writers, and careful editors like Marco Livio Sanudo, the Amasei, Moletti, and Rosacio.¹ On the other hand, the progress in mathematical science was small. This age, so rich in genius, marks a period of halt as far as Venice is concerned, though the Venetians, even in the Middle Ages, had availed themselves of every new invention in nautical and astronomical instruments. They were the first to apply trigonometry to navigation even as early as the fourteenth century and they introduced the decimal system in calculation, but they did not make much progress within the sphere of pure mathematics. All the same one of the earliest treatises on mathematics was printed in 1484 by the Venetian Pietro Borgo, and mathematical studies received a further impulse, thanks to another truly distinguished Venetian Giovanni Battista Benedetti (b. 1530, d. 1590). In his treatise published when he was twenty-three, Benedetti solves all the problems of Euclid by a single stretch of the compass, an ingenious exercise to which other famous geometers had drawn attention. His other works are of greater importance. Preceding Galileo,² he discovered various primary laws, such as the principle of gravitation; he turned his attention to centrifugal force and the equilibrium of the curved lever, and laid down the fundamental theorem of momentum.³ Benedetti was a pupil of Niccolò Tartaglia, who taught in Venice, lived there for many years, and there ended his days in 1557. Preceding the great Brescian, the Franciscan brother Luca Paciolo of Borgo San Sepolcro, Tartaglia professed mathematics and

¹ Marinelli, op. cit.

² Tiraboschi (VII, 776) cites the opinion of Cardinal Michelangelo Ricci, who says that to Galileo Benedetti *apri la strada più che ogni altro, e forse fu solo a lui scorta nel suo filosofare*. Libri (Hist., III, 161, n. 2) confirms this opinion: "c'est surtout dans Benedetti que Galilée a dû puiser les éléments de la mécanique."

³ Libri, III, 121 et seq.

published several works in Venice. In 1494 he dedicated his *Geometria Aritmetica*, issued by Paganino de' Paganini, to the patrician Marco Sanudo, in *Arithmetica eminentissimus*, in *Geometria excellentissimus*, and who had constructed a most ingenious celestial globe in metal. The Cremonese Daniello Gaetani sent the works of Euclid, corrected by Paciolo,¹ to another patrician Daniele Renier, a master in this science. Other Venetians who dedicated themselves to mathematics with success were Francesco Barozzi, professor at Padua about 1550, who published a treatise on asymptotes, or, as he says, *duas lineas in eodem plano designare quæ numquam invicem coincidunt*; ² Livio Sanudo, a sound cosmographer (d. 1576), and Vittore Ziliolo, a distinguished mathematician (d. 1584).

The study of perspective was further advanced than mathematics in Venice. Its rules, based on mathematics and optics, had been laid down by Albert Dürer, by Piero della Francesca, and by Leon Battista Alberti; the Venetian Daniele Barbaro, translator of Vitruvius, collected and illustrated these rules in his *Pratica della Prospettiva*, the first treatise on the subject that was issued from the press (1568).

Philosophy began to show signs of transformation. It was seeking its true path, but had not yet found it. Until the experimental method came to rout the authority of tradition, we see philosophers following now Aristotle, now Plato. At the opening of the Cinquecento Aristotle had resumed his sway, though Plato still exercised an influence, especially in the region of the emotions; towards the close of the sixteenth century Plato found a translator in Dardi Bembo; and if philosophers still preferred to follow the teaching of Aristotle, there was, at all events, an effort to free it from the rigid rules imposed by his Arab commentators.

¹ Agostini, *Scritt. Ven.*, Preface, p. xlviii.

² Libri, III, 134, n. 3.

The first Italian to lecture on Aristotle from the Greek text and to clear away errors was the Venetian Niccolò Leonico Tomeo, born, in 1453, of an Albanian father. Among the many Aristotelians in Venice, we may note Sebastiano Foscari, Eugenio Bruto, Antonio Polo, and Fra Gioacchino della Torre, who applied himself to the physics rather than to the metaphysics of the Stagirite, and published his notes on the *De phisica auscultatione* in 1485. Philosophy was a necessary branch of culture, and the learned never neglected the study of the ancients; Giambattista Bernardo made a repertorium of them in his *Seminarium totius philosophiæ*. Even the abstruse teaching of Raymond Lullo found a patient annotator in Valerio Valier (b. 1537, d. 1596).

Theology and jurisprudence were assiduously studied, and the list of writers on points of theology and of canon law is a long one, including the Patriarch Antonio Soriano, the Bishops Antonio Pizzamano, Francesco Arzentin, Alvise Lippomano, Tommaso Stella, Marc Antonio Mocenigo, and others of even wider fame whom we shall come across in the course of this chapter. Jurisprudence received attention not merely from those who practised the law, but from all who made any pretensions whatever to culture.

Natural science and physiology were gradually freed from the errors of the Middle Ages, and Ermolao Barbaro the younger published his *Castigationes Plinianæ* and translated Dioscorides' History of Medicine from Greek into Latin; the first two Italian translations of that work also appeared in Venice, one by Fausto da Longiano in 1542 and the other containing copious notes by Pier Andrea Mattioli in 1544. Medicine made progress through the study and the use of simples, and some of the nobility planted botanical gardens near their houses for the benefit of the learned. We have already noticed the progress which was made in

therapeutics, and, as a matter of fact, Venice boasted physicians who in a serious scientific spirit tempered the teaching of the Arab school with the doctrines of Hippocrates and Galen; among these we may mention Giovanni Caldiera, Pietro Roccabonella, who wrote a book on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, Nicola Gupalatino, Pietro Barbaro da Pola, and Antonio Zeno, named Policola, author of a curious work called *De humana natura* (1491), and Giacomo Surian of Rimini (d. 1499), all belonging to the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth we find Alessandro Benedetti; Benedetto Riccio, who commented on Avicenna in 1555; Marziale Rota; Niccolò Sammicheli; Vittore Trincavello, the warm supporter of the theories of Galen, and a good man of letters; Benedetto and Fabrizio Rinio; Antonio Secco, *praticho visitaor*, as Calmo calls him; Ambrogio Leoni da Nola; Girolamo Boniperto of Novara; Francesco Mattioli of Siena, father of Pier Andrea; Marino Broccardo; Valerio Superchio; Girolamo Ramusio of Rimini, who became a Venetian citizen; Curzio Marinello; Attilio Quattrocchi; Niccolò Massa, who made important anatomical discoveries; Giambattista Peranda; Gian Bernardo Regazzola; and Prospero Alpino da Marostica, who was director of the Botanical Garden at Padua. Among these many scientific men we must find a place for one, Alvise Cornaro, who, though not professedly a physician, wrote a book, *Vita sobria*, in which both by precept and example he anticipated some principles of modern hygiene.

Anatomical discoveries of course assisted surgery; and a Venetian from Piove di Sacco, Angiolo Bolognini, Professor at Bologna from 1508 to 1517, was among the first to write on this subject. Giovanni Andrea della Croce, born in Venice in 1509, who died there in 1575, was the author of a treatise *Chirurgia universale*, and the Venetian Michelangiolo Biondo (b. 1497, d. 1565) also wrote on surgery, anatomy, and medicine,

as well as on philosophy, poetry, history, astrology. Thus therapeutics, though still full of prejudices and errors consecrated by tradition, gradually emerged from empiricism, thanks chiefly to the influence of Padua. But the spirit of the age, which craved for the striking and the strange, surrounded even the medical science with an apparatus, a pomp and mystery which in the seventeenth century became quite extravagant. We seem to see in Tomaso Giannotti Rangone, doctor and philologer, a type of those physicians who pursued a dubious path between science and charlatanism and announced themselves as discoverers of secret specifics. Rangone was born in 1493 and died in 1577; he professed to teach people how to live to a hundred and twenty, and to feed his vanity he left a large sum of money for the reconstruction of the church of San Giuliano in order that posterity might admire on the façade his effigy in bronze modelled and cast by Sansovino, who produced a speaking likeness of the vain-glorious doctor from Ravenna seated between the terrestrial and celestial globes.

The observation of nature was frequently coloured by fancy and prejudice, and many students lost the true path and wandered off into the dreamland of astrology, alchemy, and magic. They watched the conjunctions of the stars that they might cast horoscopes of birth and foretell the course of human life; their ambiguous answers swayed the minds and actions of grave and intelligent men and even of the shrewdest rulers of the State. For example, in 1499, prophecies obtained by evoking spirits were secretly read in the Collegio;¹ and even after the lapse of many years the Serenissima Signoria gravely listened to the Cieco d'Adria when he declared that by help of cabalistic signs he had foretold the victory of Lepanto. Judicial astrology, which had exercised so wide an influence

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, II, 482, 483.

in the Middle Ages, came into vogue again in Venice of the Renaissance, and numbered among its supporters the Benedictine Teofilo Michiel (d. 1431); the Bishop Domenico Domenichi (d. 1478); Lorenzo Zane, Patriarch of Antioch (d. 1485); Giovanni Barbo, who after the middle of the fifteenth century engaged in a fierce polemic with his master Paul of Middelburg; Fra Francesco Zorzi (d. 1540); Doctor Giovanni Caldiera, who compiled the canons of astrology; Candiano Bollani, author of a book on the *Segni celesti*; Antonio Pellegrino, who discoursed on the *Segni de la natura ne l'homo* (1565), and Girolamo Diedo, who published in 1593 a treatise on the *Anatomia celeste*. Astronomy which was not confounded with astrology, as each science had its own chairs in the universities,¹ was still restricted to the knowledge of the past ages; it availed itself of the astrolabe, the quadrant, and the compass; saw the creation at Padua of Dondi's clock, which showed the movement of the sun, the moon, and the planets,² and listened to the great German astronomer, Regiomontano³ in 1463. The science had few followers in Venice, and the dense mist which enveloped it was not dispersed by Andrea Priuli with his *De ortu et occasu stellarum fixarum*, nor by other students who gave their attention to the celestial sphere, like Niccolò Daziari (1463); Bishop Girolamo Balbi, who lectured in the University of Padua in 1489; Gasparino Barbaro (1490), or Jacopo Gabriele, who showed a more

¹ Alidosi, *Li dottori forestieri che in Bologna hanno letto*, etc. Bologna, 1623.

² Libri, II, 220.

³ Johann Müller, better known as Regiomontano or Montereio, was born at Unfind, near Königsberg, in 1436. His master was Purbach. He was invited to Padua to teach astronomy. He died in Rome in 1476. His astronomical works had a great vogue in Venice. One of the earliest books printed in Venice with woodcuts is the *Calendario del Montereio*, published in 1476 by Erardo Ratdolt. His *Epitoma in Almagestum Ptolomei* was also printed in Venice in 1496, with beautiful engravings, at the press of Flamman de Landoja, called Hertzog.

scientific spirit in his tracts on the *Sfera* and on the *orti ed occasi delle stelle* (1545).¹

Philosophers, quacks, doctors, and charlatans, all were eagerly busied with ovens, stills, retorts, the instruments of alchemy, in their search for the panacea, the elixir of life, the philosopher's stone, or for gold. But little by little the truth disengaged itself from the web of falsehood, and as astronomy drew profit from astrology, so chemistry found help from alchemy. There was one branch of chemistry, however, which was uncontaminated by fallacies and superstitions, and that was the preparation of colours for painting and dyeing, which were produced by processes unknown to, and envied by, our own days.

It was in vain that the government endeavoured to restrain the extravagances of alchemy and threatened (1488), severe penalties for those who practised it. The study pursued its way in spite of prohibitions, and was even celebrated in Latin verse by Giovanni Aurelio Augurello, born at Rimini, but domiciled in Venice,² who published his *Chrisopeia* in 1515. The greatest personages of the Republic *servivano e favorivano* the Cypriot Marco Bragadin, nicknamed Mamugnà, or Mammon. He came to Venice on November 26, 1590, and proceeded to carry out his experiments with great success in the house of the Dandolo on the Giudecca, where he was lodged. Certain kings and princes envied Venice her good fortune in having as her guest a man who could make the finest gold out of quicksilver. Bragadin was induced to go to the court of the Duke of Bavaria; but there his fraud was exposed, and he was condemned to decapitation in 1591. On the scaffold he confessed that he had never really known how to *cavar l'anima dall'oro*.³

¹ Agostini, *Scritt. Ven. cit.*, Preface, xlix.

² Pavanello, *Un maestro del Quattrocento* (G. A. Augurello), pp. 65 et seq. Venezia, 1905.

³ Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 569, 570.

Sometimes the good sense of the people rebelled against the superstition of the learned and turned to ridicule astrologers and conjurers.

Nigun no puol saver zo che sarà
l'ho ditto, el torno a dir, el dirò ancora
tutte le volte che besognerà.¹

Verses, songs, and sonnets, for the most part in the vernacular, were levelled at the impostor Bragadin.

L'è granda, che co vago per la via
in ogni campo, in ogni callesella
sento, che algnì cria
quel dall'oro è zonto quà.
la farina callerà,
è aldo po el contrario dalla zente,
che ha del certo in scarsella,
che dixè chiaramente,
Mamugnà sara appiccaà . . .

Perche se Mamugnà ha fatto l'oro,
che è stà visto e toccà da sti signori,
no xe certo decoro,
che per la strada i putti,
i barcaruoli e tutti
ghe parli drio le spalle in so vergogna
anzi che farghe reverentie e honori
e stimarlo besogna
che si se vede instrutti
i homeni a honorar quel che ha danari,
quel, che fa soldi di esser tegnù cari.

Ma me vien ditto che ghe ne fa puochi,
chil spende manco, chil no dona niente,
che chi die haver capocchi
resta senza speranza,
chi ha credito el ghe avanza,
chil zuoga, chil no perde, chil vadagna
i miera de ducati allegramente . . .

Si che concludo dubitando assai
per tanti contrasegni, che no sia
per diventarghe mai
oro l'ariento vivo,
anzi che lu sia privo
del miracolosissimo secreto . . . ²

¹ *Capitolo contro gli astrologhi et indovini* (fourteenth century), published by A. Pilot, in *Pagine Istriane*, an. III, fasc. 4-5. Capodistria, 1905.

² Pilot, *L'alchimista Marco Bragadin a Venezia* (in *Pagine Istriane*, an. III, fasc. 9-10. Capodistria, 1905).

But the same people who derided the learned followers of the occult sciences themselves gave the rein to the maddest excesses of sorcery, witchcraft, and incantation, which were, and still are, the most pernicious perversions of the occult sciences. The Republic endeavoured to remove these causes of disturbance, and as early as October 28, 1410, it issued a decree threatening with banishment, the pillory, and torture, all who should secretly practise sorcery, and a century later, on orders from the Patriarch, parish priests, when celebrating, invited the faithful to denounce all witches who raised evil spirits or appealed to them for knowledge of the future, or to capture the heart of coy mistresses, or to wean them away from their lovers, by incantations with the bones of men or animals, or by enchanted powders and magic philters.¹ The trials for witchcraft show us the extraordinary lengths to which popular credulity could be carried. The devil was raised by the most ridiculous buffooneries *con burle et buffonerie, con secreti ad amorem*; in 1543 Fra Aurelio Sticiano, of Siena, practised sorcery with the hair and a bone of a dead man and consecrated oil. In 1582 Antonio Orlandini cured fevers by outlandish incantations and the leaves of the salvia, upon which he wrote mystic phrases.² In 1589 Laura Casaleri was accused of witchcraft and of commerce with the devil, of exorcism and incantations by the help of salvia leaves and beans; the priest Serafino Gradi, canon of San Salvatore, was tried for sorcery with consecrated oil; Sebastiano Migliorini and his companion, Paola, for exorcism by magic circles and letters; Elena Pazzano for having bewitched her own son by hanging round his neck a dead man's

¹ Gallicciolli, II, 20, 863, 864. The law runs—*in faciendo herbariam, vel facturiam, aut in dando aliquid comedere, vel portare adossum, etc.* Sorcery, magic, witchcraft, were known in Venetian dialect as *catromonachie*, a word derived from the Greek. Boerio, *Dizionario*.

² Arch. di Stato, Sant' Uffizio, Busta 30.

bone;¹ and so on, even down to later times. The trials almost always conclude with a sentence imposing abjuration, the recitation of prayers, the pillory, and banishment.

But in the midst of this tentative science and the superstitions which hampered it the torch of learning flames high in the hand of one man, Paolo Sarpi, the loftiest intellect that Venice ever produced. The close of the sixteenth century saw the development of his marvellous scientific activity; the opening of the next, his still more potent action in the region of ecclesiastical politics. Born on August 14, 1552, of humble parents, he took the habit of the Servite monks at the age of thirteen and changed his baptismal name from Peter to Paul. When eighteen years of age, he went to Mantua as theologian to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga. He left Mantua for Milan, where he became a close

¹ Arch. di Stato, Sant' Ufficio, Busta 65. We quote some passages from the trial of Laura Casaleri which give us an idea of the crime and the punishment: "Noi" (i. e. the Nuncio, the Patriarch, the Inquisitor, and the lay assistant, Vito Morosini) "... considerando non senza grande ramarico dell'animo nostro che tu Laura Mantoana, relitta del condan Domenico Casaleri nel primo voto, e nel 2° di Palviassar Pelas, per denunzia data a questo Santo Ufficio, hai fatto l'esperimento della caraffa, buttato le fave, fatto scrivere alcuni nomi sopra 21 foglie di salvia et il nome di un huomo e di una donna sopra un ovo, e d'haver guasto un putto, cose che ti mostravano in fatti et parole lontana dal viver christiano . . . et . . . al ultimo hai detto in giuditio, et ratificato che fu vero che tu facesti l'esperimento della caraffa, et fatto scrivere il nome di un huomo e di una donna sopra un ovo cotto et alcuni nomi di santi, et anco altri incogniti sopra alcune foglie di salvia: Unde . . . sententiamo . . . che tu . . . se statta apostata della fede chatolica per haver fatto l'esperimento della caraffa, e perciò . . . t'imponiamo che tu maledichi, detesti, et abiuri tutte e ciascheduna apostasia generalmente ed in particolare che sia ben fatto far ricorso al diavolo per saper cosa alcuna come hai fatto tu nel' esperimento della caraffa . . . Et accio ch  li tuoi peccati non restino in tutto impuniti et anco gli altri imparino schivare ogni apostasia, sortilegio et herbaria, ancorch  di raggione, e secondo che si ( ) osservato nelle altre meriti esser frustata et messa in berlina, nondimeno per raggionevoli et convenienti rispetti questa pena pubblica se rimette, ma ti bandimo da tutto il ser.^{mo} Dominio Veneto per anni dieci continui prossimi futuri . . . et per penitentia salutare t'imponiamo che per un anno continuo li giorni di venere debbi recitar la corona genuflessa avanti l'immagine della Beata Vergine . . . 28 novembre 1589."



(A)



(B)

Photo by Salvati

A—SEBASTIAN CABOT, aet. c. eighty years—portrait attributed to Holbein. (From a cut in Lever's "History



friend of Carlo Borromeo. On his return to Venice in his twenty-seventh year, he was elected provincial of his order. Quarrels among the brothers and the need to reform the constitutions and statutes of the order took him to Rome, where he won the favour of Sixtus V and of princes and cardinals, among them Bellarmine and Castagna, afterwards Urban VII. When his country demanded his advice, Sarpi's calm intelligence and profound intuition saved the State from the menace of sacerdotal domination. But in this place it is our intention to dwell only on the influence he exercised in the world of science. Unfortunately no documents have been preserved to us; a fire at the Servites in 1760 destroyed all Sarpi's autographs on the subject of mathematics and of natural science. There remains, however, the evidence of contemporaries and of more recent writers who had opportunity to examine the papers of the great Servite; and we can gather some vague information about Sarpi in his relation to physics, mathematics, metaphysics, and natural science, from a copy of one of his manuscripts which was made by order of Marco Foscarini, at that time procurator of San Marco, and is now preserved in the library at Vienna.¹ But it would be vain to deduce from these "mere memoranda," as Foscarini rightly calls them, a precise conception of Sarpi's scientific position, the value of which is more definitely established by the series of testimonies to its greatness collected by Colomesio, Morofio, and Popeblount.² Galileo not only called Sarpi *padre e maestro*, and, as Viviani assures us, communicated to the friar his observations on sun-spots, but when Capra challenged his priority in the invention of the geometrical compass, the great astronomer replied that no one could be a

¹ Cassani, *Paolo Sarpi e le scienze naturali* (Ateneo Veneto, ser. IV, N° 4, October, 1882).

² Foscarini, *Lett. ven.*, p. 98. Venezia, 1854.

better arbiter in the dispute than Paolo Sarpi, as "nessuno in Europa, si può affermare senza iperbole, lo sorpassa nella cognizioni matematiche." Robert Anderson, a distinguished Scotch geometrician, sent his problems to Sarpi for revision, and urged the friar to publish the treatise on the *Ricognizione delle equazioni*¹ which he had already composed; another well-known mathematician, the Frenchman Aleaume, submitted his writings to the Servite as to a judge *quo non sapientior aller*.² Francesco Grisellini, who in the eighteenth century bestowed loving care on the study of Sarpi's life and writings was able to examine the manuscripts at the Servites before the fire. He tells us that he found among them a copy of the works of Francesco Vieta, — precursor of Descartes in the application of algebra to geometry, — emended and enlarged by Sarpi. Wotton the English ambassador, Claude Saumaise, in the dedication of his "Studies on Pliny," and the mathematician Marino Ghetaldi unite in his praise. Sarpi, an acute and patient observer, was the first to note the contraction and expansion of the uvea in the eye, a discovery which Fabrizio d'Acquapendente explicitly states that the Servite communicated to him. On the other hand, it does not seem that the discovery of the valves in the veins, an observation which led to the more important discovery of the circulation of the blood, was suggested to Acquapendente by Sarpi, as has been affirmed, for the latter makes no mention of it, and the more cautious critics conclude that both observers made the discovery independently.³ Sarpi's versatile genius did not confine itself to mathematics and to anatomical studies. He communicated some of his observations on

¹ Grisellini, *Del genio di F. Paolo Sarpi in ogni facoltà scientifica, etc.* Venezia, 1785.

² Cassani, loc. cit., p. 224, n. 17.

³ Ibid.

terrestrial magnetism to the great Neapolitan physicist Giambattista Porta and to the patrician Gianfrancesco Sagredo, the friend of Galileo and one of the interlocutors in his "Dialogues." Sagredo had acquired a great reputation as an astronomer by his observations on the sun-spots and on Jupiter's satellites, and as a physicist by his improvements in the thermometer and by his discovery of certain meteorological phenomena. Sarpi with his penetrating intuition surmised certain of the great scientific laws which others subsequently explained and amplified.

But it is in the region of political rather than of purely scientific speculation that the genius of the Venetians finds its highest and freest expression through the mouth of Paolo Sarpi. That political genius is displayed in the official histories, and still better in the reports of the Venetian ambassadors, — monuments of acute practical observation, which examine the causes of social phenomena and grasp, penetrate, and illuminate contemporary personages and events. Side by side with chronicles, diaries, annals, there arose the formal "history," modelled on the ancients and inspired by a definite political idea. The first to whom, after the revival of learning, we can properly apply the title of historian is Bernardo Giustinian (b. 1408), author of the work *De origine urbis Venetiarum*. But the Republic soon grasped the fact that where the bare chronicle of events assumed the form of critical history it opened the door to discussion of principles of statecraft, and obeying that instinct of prudence which was ever its safeguard, it resolved that the history of Venice should be given to the public only by an official historiographer appointed for that purpose, and who, under the supervision of the Council of Ten, should be allowed access to official documents. Marcantonio Coccio Sabellico, of Vicovaro (1436-1506), published his history of Venice in 1487, and the State assigned

him an annual stipend of two hundred ducats. But Sabellico's *Decades* were not commissioned by the government, who reserved the post for a patrician. During the sixteenth century the following held the office: Andrea Navagero, the ambassador who died at Blois in 1529, at the age of forty-six without completing the history for which he had received the commission in 1515;¹ Pietro Bembo; Alvise Contarini (b. 1536, d. 1579), and Paolo Paruta (b. 1540, d. 1598), who in his *Prefazione della vita politica* sets forth the aims and ideas of the Venice of his day.² General and special histories of Venice, of her wars, and her achievements — written not precisely at the order of the government, but certainly not against its wishes or in opposition to its views — have been left us by Pancrazio and Pietro Giustinian, Francesco Contarini, Andrea Mocenigo, Daniele Barbaro, Gian Giacomo Caroldo, Emilio Maria Manolesso, Niccolò Zeno, Paolo Ramusio, son of Giambattista, Gian Niccolò Doglioni, from Belluno but settled in Venice. Nor must we omit Pietro Marcello, author of the *Vite dei Dogi*; Michele Orsini, Bishop of Pola, who wrote *De antiqua Venetorum origine et regione*; Alvise Mocenigo and Giammichele Bruto, with their *Bellum Cameracense*, and the eight books *Florentinæ Historiæ*. The constitution of the Republic, on which Donald Giannotti and Umberto Foglietta both wrote, is more amply treated by Gasparo Contarini in his *De Magistratibus et Republica Venetorum* than by any other historian.

¹ Navagero and Agostino Beazzano, a Trevisan poet, were painted by Raphael. The picture is in the Doria Gallery in Rome, and is known as portraits of Baldus and Bartolus; but a comparison of the strong, severe, yet witty face of the man in the cap with the portrait at Berlin, painted by a Venetian artist in 1526 and called *Andreas Navagerus*, leaves no doubt as to the identity of the Doria portrait. Minghetti, *Raffaello*, p. 180. Bologna, 1885.

² Zanoni, *P. Paruta nella vita e nelle op.* Livorno, 1904. Pompeati, *Le dottrine politiche di P. P.* (in the *Giornali Storico della Lett. Ital.* Torino, 1905).

But courtly history, often redundant and prolix, did not satisfy the need for daily registration of minute details and passing events. At the close of the fifteenth and throughout the following century we get the admirable chronicles of another Andrea Navagero, of the two Dolfin, of Antonio Donà, of Gasparo Zancaruolo, of Agostino degli Agostini, of the Barbo family, of Stefano Magno, and the work which commonly goes under the name of the *Cronaca Savina*.¹ Of higher value are the *Annali* (1457-1500) of Domenico Malipiero, a shrewd politician and a brave soldier; the *Diari* of Girolamo Priuli² (1494-1512), and the *Diari* (1512-1521) of Marcantonio Michiel, an acute observer of events;³ while the *Diari* of Marin Sanudo give us an admirable portrait of a whole epoch of stormy European history.

Sanudo is one of the figures which adorn Venetian history, both as patrician and as historian. He was born in the parish of San Giacomo dall' Orio on May 20, 1466; his father was Leonardo Sanudo, statesman and man of letters; his mother, Letitia Venier. Marin lost his father when he was only ten years old, and his mother took him to Sanguinetto, in the Veronese, a castle belonging to the Venier family, and there he received his early education from Niccolò da Legnago

¹ The Marciana possesses two copies of the *Cronaca Savina*; one comes down to 1588, the other to 1615. It was generally supposed that the author was Gerolamo Savina, on the authority of Foscarini; but a recent publication of Doctor Francesco Marini (*Il Codice Savina, per nozze Sardi-Medin, Treviso, 1901*) proves that the true author is Andrea de Conti, called *il rasonato*, who brought his work down to 1588; the continuation down to 1615 is probably by his son.

² Priuli's *Diari* were divided into eight volumes; they cover the period from April 1, 1494, to July, 1512. A copy in the Library at Vienna lacks the first and third volumes. There is another copy of the sixteenth century in which the third volume is missing; of this copy the first volume is in the Marciana (cl. VII, Ital. cod. 130), and the other six at the Museo Civico. Fulin, *Diari di G. Priuli* (*Arch. Veneto*, XXII, 137-155).

³ The *Diari* of Michiel, discovered and ascribed to him by Cicogna (*Mem. Istituto Ven.*, pp. 375 et seq., 1861), go down to 1521, but it seems that Michiel carried them on to 1545.

and Macario of Camerino.¹ He soon attracted attention by his genius and by his love of study, and when fifteen years old he wrote a treatise entitled *Memorabilia Deorum Dearumque*; when seventeen, he compiled his *Itinerarium Terræ Fermæ*, in which he described *per ordine citade et castelli*, illustrated by pen drawings; at twenty, the *Commentari delle guerre di Ferrara*. With the fullest resolve to record events and facts in obedience to sound historical canons of unity and order, he had already completed his works *De origine situ et magistratibus urbis Venetæ*, the *Vite dei Dogi*, and the *Spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia*, when he himself found that it was not possible to write the history of the actual moment; he therefore resolved to undertake a daily record of events, which he entered in those Diaries which have secured for him an immortal name. This vast enterprise did not prevent him from attending to his public duties nor from sharing in the joyous life of his day; his heart was open to the passion of love, his mind responded to the claims of poesy. His youthful loves for Gemma and for Candida inspired verses in the manner of Petrarch, and gave him two natural daughters, Candiana and Bianca, to whom he consecrated the tenderest paternal care; he dowered and wedded them, one to Giovanni Morello, the other to Angelo Gratarolo.² When treasurer in Verona in 1501, he frequented literary circles and the fashionable world, and although well on in years he loved and sang Laura Brenzoni-Schioppo, as seven years before he had paid court to the poetess Girolama Corsi-Ramos, whose portrait was painted by Carpaccio.³ In 1505 he returned to Venice and married Cecilia Priuli,

¹ Brown, R., *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di M. S. Venezia*, 1837. Berchet, *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo*, Preface, p. 14. Venezia, 1904.

² Berchet, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ She was born in Tuscany, and came to the Veneto in her youth. Sanudo had a copy of her poems bound in an elegant little volume. He calls her *excelesente*.



(A)

Photo by Alinari



(B)

PORTRAITS OF PIETRO ARETINO, BY TITIAN. A—Pitti Gallery in
 Florence. B—Formerly in the Chigi Gallery, Rome, now
 in London

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, which appears to be a record of some kind. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are in a standard font. The list is organized into two columns, with names on the left and dates on the right. The names are: John Smith, James Brown, and William Jones. The dates are: 1812, 1813, and 1814. The list is followed by a signature, which is also in cursive script. The signature is: John Smith. The document is dated 1815.

widow of Girolamo Barbarigo, and there in his quiet home on the *fondamenta del Miglio* at San Giacomo dall' Orio, in the midst of domestic cares not always light and of public duties not always easy, he worked indefatigably at his Diaries, which filled fifty-eight volumes, and covered the years from January 1, 1496, to April, 1533. The Council of Ten gave him a salary of one hundred and fifty ducats a year. *Ma*, says Sanudo himself in his will, *zuro a Dio è nulla alla grandissima fatica ho fatto*. Dispassionately, impartially he notes the episodes of public life, and is rich in details of private affairs. Nothing escapes his observation; political events, all that affected legislation, manners, art, letters, all the minutest and less obvious details, epigrams, satires, comedies, personal episodes, and private letters find a place on his pages. After his death, on April 4, 1536, his Diaries became the property of the State, and were preserved in a secret chamber of the Council of Ten, where they lay almost forgotten.¹

Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) treated the personages of his day in very different fashion. Under the ægis of Venetian freedom, which gave shelter alike to noble spirits and to vicious adventurers, Aretino was enabled shamelessly to flatter all who made him presents of money, jewels, clothes, and to vilify those who refused him such tribute. Aretino reached Venice on March 23, 1527, and quickly became a friend of Titian, who painted his portrait for the first time in that year,² and shortly afterwards he was courteously received by the

¹ All trace of the Diaries was lost for many years, and Marco Foscarini regrets their disappearance. But in 1784 Francesco Donato, last historiographer of the Republic, discovered them and had them copied. The *Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria* began the publication in 1870, and finished it in 1905.

² This, the first of Titian's portraits of Aretino, was sent, in 1527, as a present to the Marchese Federico Gonzaga, of Mantua, by Titian himself. It must have migrated to England in 1627, on the sale of the Gonzaga Gallery to Charles I. Titian painted another portrait of Aretino for Francesco Marcolini, which Cavalcaselle believes to be the picture once in

Doge Andrea Gritti. Of a quick wit and a pleasing humour, graceful in person, as lavish in gifts as he was avaricious in expecting them, not without attractive qualities in the midst of his many vices,¹ this son of the cobbler of Arezzo soon saw the road to fortune opening out before him. His facile pen poured out letters, dialogues, comedies, a tragedy, — a hundred pieces all marked by servility, indecency, and hypocrisy; yet the coarse soil of his immodest writings yields us every now and then a flower among the rank grass. Mid the licentiousness of thought and of form we occasionally meet with subtlety of observation and freshness of humour; descriptions, like the famous word picture of Venice, rich in colour and veracious; his invectives and calumnies are occasionally redeemed by the expression of some noble idea. The *Pronostici* and *Giudizi* which the great lampooner, following the habit of the times, was wont to publish in broad sheets to be hawked through the streets, point the way to the modern newspaper.²

possession of Count Giustinian of Padua. The most celebrated portrait is the one which is now in the Pitti; it was sent to Duke Cosimo in 1545 by Aretino. There was a fourth likeness in the Chigi Gallery at Rome. It recently went to London. Sebastian del Piombo, Gaspare Nervesa, Moretto, and Francesco detto del Selviati also painted Aretino. Moretto's and Francesco's portraits have been lost. Titian introduced Aretino into two of his compositions, — the *Ecce Homo*, painted for Giovanni d'Anna, now at Vienna, and the *Allocuzione*, painted for the Marchese del Vasto (now at Madrid). In the fresco in the Palazzo della Signoria, Giorgio Vasari represented Aretino among the crowd that precedes Pope Leo X on his triumphal entry into Florence; but the likeness is taken from the portrait in the Pitti, which served as model for the portrait in the collection of Paolo Giovio as well. The medals of Aretino are innumerable (see Lumbruso, G., *I maestri di zecca di Pietro Aretino* in the *Memorie italiane del buon tempo antico*, Torino, 1889); so, too, are the engravings. As regards these Gauthiez (*L'Aretin*, Paris, 1895) assures us that, in the print room at Paris there are no less than twenty-three portraits of Aretino. Marcantonio Raimondi's is the best known. See the articles by Ricci and Luzio on the *Ritratti tizianeschi dell'Aretino* (in the *Marzocco*, Firenze, 9 and 16 July, 1905).

¹ Graf, *Un processo a Pietro Aretino* (in *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, p. 89. Torino, 1888).

² Luzio, *Un pronostico satirico di P. Aretino*. Bergamo, 1900.

The new learning, initiated at the opening of the Quattrocento, pursued its course; the fine qualities of Humanism were appreciated by the practical mind of the Venetians, and her statesmen, though immersed in political affairs, found time to devote themselves to classical studies with such ardour as to merit the enthusiastic and even excessive praise of Galateo: "Soli vos Veneti custodes græcæ et latinæ integritatis."¹ Diplomats took advantage of their opportunities, and Alvise Mocenigo brought back from his mission to France in 1506 a precious codex of Pliny; while Girolamo Donato, who had been on an embassy to Julius II, paused on his journey from Rome to copy ancient inscriptions.² In order to counteract the possible danger to her social, economic, and political life, which might arise from an excessive devotion to humanistic studies, the State favoured the emigration of her learned men to other cities, especially to Rome, where some of them rose to the rank of Protonotary, Bishop, Cardinal, and even of Pope.³

Culture, indeed, became hereditary in certain families. The Barbaro family, which had already produced two illustrious members, Francesco and Ermolao, Bishop of Verona, gave to this epoch another Ermolao (b. 1454), cousin of his namesake the bishop. Ermolao united a vast erudition with his political and ecclesiastical occupations, and would have won a wider renown had not death cut him off in 1493, at the age of thirty-nine, while living in Rome, where he had just been named Cardinal.⁴ Daniele Barbaro (b. 1513, d. 1570), a many-sided man, was Patriarch of Aquileia, and his brother Marcantonio (b. 1518, d. 1595), a

¹ Antonio de Ferrariis (Galateo), *De laudibus Venetiarum* (in the *Collana di scritt. di Terra d'Otranto*, II, 39. Lecce, 1868).

² Cian, *La cultura e l'italianità di Venezia nel Rinascimento*, pp. 29, 30. Bologna, 1905.

³ Cian, loc. cit.

⁴ Stickney, *De Hermolai Barbari vita*. Lutetiae Parisiorum, MCMIII.

diplomat of distinction and Bailo at Constantinople, was a munificent patron of artists. Marco Barbaro (b. 1511, d. 1570) compiled the valuable genealogy of Venetian families.

The family of Grimani was rendered illustrious by Domenico and the three brothers, Marino, Marco, and Giovanni, his nephews. Uncle and nephews were patriarchs of Aquileia, Domenico and Marino cardinals as well. Domenico Grimani, son of the Doge Antonio, was born in 1461, and was one of the most characteristic and engaging types of Venetian genius. In his youth he went to Florence, where he became the friend of Pico della Mirandola and Politian; he was Venetian ambassador to Frederick III, entered the Church in 1493, and died at Rome in 1523. His nephews combined a knowledge of books with knowledge of the world; Marco (d. 1544) was procurator of San Marco in 1522, and commander of twenty Papal galleys against the Turk in 1537; Marino (b. cir. 1488, d. 1547) was a well-known patron of the arts; Giovanni (d. 1593) was a learned amateur of antiquities, and author of a volume of *Consigli* on leading cases.

In short, we find a whole galaxy of students, more or less illustrious, born in Venice, who by advice, assistance, and munificent patronage, encouraged both art and letters, and wrote in Latin and in the vulgar tongue on the most varied subjects. In addition to those names already recorded we must recall, among others, Gasparo Contarini, raised to the purple, a man of lofty mind and intellect, born in 1483, who died during his legation at Bologna in 1542; ¹ Bernardo Navagero (d. 1565), famous for learning and eloquence and his patronage of letters, whose house was a centre of culture; Marcantonio Amulio (da Mula) (b. 1505, d. 1570), librarian of the Vatican; Francesco Commendone (b. 1524, d.

¹ De Leva, *Della vita e delle opere del Cardinale G. Contarini*. Padova, 1863.

1584); Agostino Valier (d. 1606), author of a history of Venice, and the Life of Cardinal Navagero, his relation by blood; scholars and writers, for the most part prelates or patricians, famous in their day and not forgotten by posterity. Among them Fra Francesco Colonna, the celebrated *Polifilo* (b. 1433, d. 1527); Trifone Gabriele (b. 1471, d. 1549), called the Socrates of his age, and Angelo, also of the Gabriele family, who, in 1492, accompanied Bembo to Messina to attend the classes of Costantino Lascaris; Niccolò Liburnio, priest of Santa Fosca (d. 1557), who along with Bembo was among the first to study Italian philology; Francesco Negro, the grammarian; Vincenzo Quirini, collector of Oriental manuscripts, an able diplomat whose reports on Germany are considered superior to Machiavelli's; Daniele Renier, not only a mathematician but also a humanist, member of the Aldine Academy, and executor under Aldus' will; Paolo Canal, cut off in his youth, in the year 1508, learned in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, philosophy, and mathematics; Marco Morosini, poet and philosopher; Giambattista Cipelli, called Egnazio (b. 1473, d. 1553), master of profound thought and lucid style; Andrea Trevisan, jurist and compiler of a dictionary of the vulgar tongue; Sebastian Erizzo (b. 1525, d. 1585), an accomplished numismatist and author of a volume of stories called *Sei giornate*; Francesco Amadi (b. 1566), man of letters and connoisseur; Alvise Dardano, Grand Chancellor, who wrote in defence of women, and Pietro Bruto and Fra Sisto de' Medici, who attacked the Jews; Monsignore Giovanni Brevio (b. 1550), a graceful novelist; Giovanni Lorenzi, an eminent Hellenist, secretary to Innocent VIII; Lodovico Dolce, a versatile writer on various subjects. Although he was born in Florence, we may reckon Francesco Sansovino a Venetian; he was almost too prolific as an author, and so were Girolamo Ruscelli of Viterbo, Lodovico Domenichi and Girolamo Parabosco of

Piacenza, Dionigi Atanagi of Cagli, Tommaso Porcacchi of Castiglione the Florentine, all of whom lived for long in Venice and kept its press supplied.

Eloquence was made the subject of careful study, and side by side with the professional diplomats who used a language of vigorous and effective simplicity, there grew up a school of oratory which employed every device of classical rhetoric; we may cite as an instance the oration pronounced by Pietro Bembo when Legate of Pope Leo X in 1514. Pietro Badoaro (d. 1591) was reckoned the Cicero of his day, and Giovanni Dona enjoyed a great reputation which won him the sobriquet of *delle renghe* (*delle aringhe*=speeches); Cardinal Francesco Commendone had a happy gift of improvised discourse on the profoundest topics. Oratory had its manuals, — Cardinal Marcantonio da Mula's *De sublimi genere dicendi*, Gian Maria Memmo's dialogue *L'oratore*, and Daniele Barbaro's *Dell'eloquenza*. But the Council chambers of the Republic were a more favourable school, where the speakers who avoided flowers of rhetoric were listened to in religious silence, while the tedious were coughed down.¹

The Venetian who achieved the highest renown in letters at this date was Pietro Bembo. His father, Bernardo (d. 1519), was a patrician of great culture, a worthy magistrate, esteemed by Lorenzo de' Medici and the leading litterateurs of his day, and a collector of manuscripts. When filling the post of *Vicedomino* in Ravenna, he paid due honour to the memory of Dante.² His son Pietro inherited his qualities along with his noble blood. Pietro was born in 1470 and died in 1547. His genius was equal to the highest and severest demands, nor did any one surpass him as

* ¹ Sanudo (*Diari*, XVI, 491) records that on July 10, 1513, he spoke in the Great Council and was received with such attention that *nian spudoe*.

² Cian, *Per Bernardo Bembo* (*Giorn. stor. della Lett. It.*, T. XXVIII and XXXI).

a patron of letters and arts. In 1512 he went to Rome, where he became secretary to Leo X; but in 1521 he left the noise and worry of the great city for the studious seclusion of his Paduan villa. While still a youth he had brooded over and perhaps partially written among the green bosage of Asolo and in Queen Caterina's castle, his book *Gli Asolani*; and in 1500, while under the influence of a violent passion, he found time to meditate *alcune annotazioni della lingua*, which, after frequent changes and revision, appeared in 1525 in his *Prose* and was at once hailed as the standard of style in the vulgar tongue. Surrounded by a band of enthusiastic followers, of whom Trifone Gabriele was the leader, Bembo made Venice and Padua two living centres of classical and Italian culture, and as an ardent admirer of the Medici, he, too, succeeded in reconciling those conflicting tendencies in letters, the return to the ancient and the development of the modern tongue. The characteristic note of this group of Venetian writers is an uncompromising devotion to Petrarch in verse and to Boccaccio in prose.¹ Bembo, ever bent on raising the vulgar tongue to the same rank as the classics, became a collaborator with his friend Aldus Manutius in the reissue of Dante and of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, and kindly undertook to criticise and correct the innumerable copies of verses that were showered upon him from all quarters, whether they came from obscure rhymesters or from such well-known poets as Beazzano, Tebaldeo, Bernardo Cappello. In the midst of this universal admiration there was found only one man of letters bold enough to rebel against the authority of Bembo; that was the young Venetian poet Antonio Brocardo, the pupil of Trifone Gabriele and of Pomponazzi, and it turned out ill for him; attacked on all sides for his sacrilege, he took it so to heart that he died. Surrounded by his family Bembo passed the

¹ Cian, *Un decennio della vita di P. Bembo*, pp. 38, 39. Torino, 1885.

years from 1523 to 1531 in his villa at Santa Maria di Non or in his house in Padua. In this pleasant retreat he did not neglect his friends; his correspondence forms one of the most valuable parts of his literary activity; as, indeed, are the letters of this period in general, giving us, as they do, a clear and dispassionate insight into the writer's temperament, the episodes of domestic and public life, the opinions and judgments of their authors. The delightful villa and splendid palace of Bembo became the meeting-place for all the men of letters who either lived in Venice or were making a journey through the Veneto. His constant and favourite occupation was verse, though one cannot say that he ranks among the more copious and original poets. If in his Latin poems he rivals the ancients in elegance, in his Italian verse harmony, lofty imagination bred of learning, nobility, if not simplicity, of thought, hardly compensate for lack of vigour and veracity in the emotions, for the subservience of matter to form, for the slavish imitation of Petrarch which Bembo introduced.

Among Bembo's enthusiastic followers were Agostino Beazzano¹ (d. 1571²); Bernardo Cappello³ (b. 1498, d. 1565); Girolamo Molin (b. 1500, d. 1569), and Domenico Venier (b. 1517, d. 1582). In their footsteps came other poets, more laboured than elegant, such as Jacopo Zane (d. 1560); Jacopo Mocenigo (d. 1570); Jacopo Tiepolo (d. 1586); Giorgio Gradenigo (d. 1600),⁴ and others inspired by Petrarch and modelled on Bembo.⁴ Even those who, like Antonio

¹ Beazzano was born towards the close of the fifteenth century, in Treviso, though he belonged to a *famiglia cittadina veneziana*, and called himself Venetian.

² Cappello is mentioned in Ariosto (*Orlando*, XXXVII, 8; XLVI, 15).

³ Bernardo Tasso records these Venetian poets in the *Amadigi*, Canto 40.

⁴ Marco Foscarini proposed to publish the poems of sixty Venetian nobles of the sixteenth century, some of whom are recorded by Morelli in his *Operette* (I, 195 et seq. See Crespan, *Del Petrarchismo e dei principali petrarchisti veneziani* (in *Petrarca a Venezia*, Venezia, 1874). But

Brocardo (1531) and Cornelio Castaldi of Feltre (1536), claimed to have freed themselves from the domination of Petrarch as the one irrefragable canon of literary taste, found that they were really following humbly in the footsteps of both Petrarch and Bembo. Without the smallest regard they manipulated Petrarch in every conceivable direction, even to the point of rendering him ridiculous¹ by transforming his love for Laura into a sacred poem, as Fra Girolamo Malipiero² had the audacity to do. Malipiero was also the author of a Latin poem on the Life of Saint Francis. Not even the great victory of Lepanto had the power to rouse the imagination of the Venetian poets, who pour out a monotonous flood of rhymes on the struggle between Christian civilisation and Ottoman barbarism. The style was characterised by verbal conceits, turgidity, caprice, which herald the approach of the Seicento. The most remarkable example is to be found in the verses of Luigi Groto, which abound in extravagant metaphors. Luigi Groto (1541-1585), called Il Cieco d'Adria, because he lost his sight shortly after birth, was frequently in Venice as envoy from his native town, and was wont to entertain society with his songs.³ More worthy of record are Andrea Navagero, a writer of elegant Latin verse; Celio Magno, a poet who is frequently graceful and effective both in thought and form. He published along with his own poems the verses of Orsatto Giustinian,⁴ no less skilful a poet; and Gaspara Stampa, the gentle Anassilla,⁵ who, though

this essay, and another by Malmignati, serve to make us feel the want of a serious study on the whole important subject. With more profit we may consult Graf, *Petrarchismo* (in *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, pp. 28 et seq.).

¹ Franco, N., *Il Petrarchista*, a dialogue. Venezia, Giolitto, 1539.

² Maripetro, G., *Il Petrarca spirituale rist. nuovamente et dall'autore corretto*. Venezia, Marcolini, 1538.

³ Groto, Luigi, *Rime*. Venetia, 1610.

⁴ Celio Magno ed Orsatto Giustinian, *Rime*. Venetia, Muschio, 1600.

⁵ She called herself *Anassilla*, from the river *Anaxum*, the Piave which flowed by the Castle of the Collalto, to whom belonged Collaltino, the faithless lover of the luckless songstress.

she followed the style of her day, preserved a certain originality and poured out in three Centuries of Sonnets the rare joys and the profound sorrows of her heart which in the midst of universal gaiety bewailed the daily, hourly flight of time, niggard of sweetness and delight.

But in truth, Venice, so rich in the poetry of line and colour, never produced a great poet who could express the supreme beauty of thought and form which so many painters rendered successfully by their brush. The highest expression of Venetian genius is to be found in the arts that are based on design; it is there that we feel the true artistic sense of the race, whose lyrics are the smiling forms upon Venetian canvases, whose epic is written on the glorious buildings of the city. The arts of the brush, the compass, and the chisel maintained a wide and splendid dominion, while the art of verse dwindled and died, because of its addiction to flattery, refinements, and far-fetched conceits.

But beneath the bombast of cultured verse, in the midst of these verbal conceits and sounding phrases, we can catch a burst of joyous laughter on the stage and in vernacular poetry. We shall deal later on with the theatre in its intimate connection with the history of manners, which Venetian playwrights represent to us in scenes inspired by that sense of humour which characterises the Venetian populace. Venetian popular poetry, often trivial and tiresome, not seldom obscene, sometimes lively and to the point, reflects the characteristics of the race. In the fifteenth century a Venetian patrician, Leonardo Giustinian, had given a graceful poetical clothing to simple episodes studied from the life. Now another patrician, Maffeo, later on Archbishop of Corfù, son of Domenico Veniero, wrote in his native dialect a poem, *La Strazzosa*,¹ rippling with laughter, wit, and spontaneity. His sprightly license

¹ Gamba, *Serie degli scritt. in dial.*, p. 90. Ven., 1832.

becomes disgusting obscenity in the verses of his brother Lorenzo, who endeavoured to rival Aretino in two of his filthy poems, *La puttana errante* and *La Zaffetta*.

But Alessandro Caravia, a son of the people, has given us a poem that is amusing without being malicious in *Naspo bizaro*, that recounts in easy vein the loves of Naspo, a Castellano, with Cate Biriota¹; and still fresher and more original is Andrea Calmo, comedian and playwright, born of a poor family of fisher folk, or boatmen, about 1510, who died on February 23, 1571. Calmo's quaint but vigorous vein of originality is better seen in his letters,² in his *bizzare, faconde et ingeniose rime pescatorie*,³ than in his comedies. He, too, delights in quips and conceits, but throughout that strange mixture of sense and folly which characterises his prose and his verse he displays a firm grasp on the comic side of life, and an observation so acute and just as to represent the very antithesis of the false idealism and the tiresome roundelays which stamp the followers of Petrarch. In an age steeped in artificiality and a society growing daily more and more conventional, we are drawn to this light-hearted, lazy, insouciant son of the people, now to be found in the bosom of his family, now on a spree with his boon companions, who ends by exclaiming:

Val meio un zorno che se staga en paxe
Che gran signor e non esser sicuro.

On the other hand, the poems of Andrea Michieli, called Strazzóla, who was born after the middle of the fifteenth century, and died in 1510,⁴ foreshadow that

¹ Caravia, *Naspo bizaro*. Venetia, D. Nicolino, 1565.

² Calmo's *Lettere* have been collected and annotated with a learned critical and biographical Preface by Vittorio Rossi.

³ *Le bizzare, faconde et ingeniose rime pescatorie nelle quali si contengono sonetti, stanze, capitoli, madrigali, epitaphij, disperate e canzoni* per M. Andrea Calmo. In Vinegia, appresso Jouambatt. Bertacagno, al segno di San Moisè, 1552.

⁴ Rossi, V., *Canzoniere ined. dello Strazzóla*.

spirit of malignant satire which degraded the literature of the fifteenth, and still more of the sixteenth century. Sanudo says of him, "*fu omo de grande ingegno, in reliquis sporco et viciosissimo.*"¹ Vulgar in matter, rude and insipid in form, his verses, in which he basely vilifies the finer spirits of his day, are still of value as a proof of the spirit of mocking realism which ran through the life of the Venetian people.

The coarse jest and loud guffaw ring throughout the satirical verse in Venetian dialect; anonymous satires on men and manners were freely circulated in print or in manuscript, in broad sheets or placards, affixed to the walls. Sanudo records that they appeared for the first time on the colonnade at Rialto, in November, 1532, and the subject was an attack on some well-known courtesans, whose names were coupled with that of Aretino, who got no more than his deserts, as he, too, *diceva volentiera mal d' i signori et altri*,² though we cannot say that Battista Egnazio merited the lampoon *di malla natura* which was fastened to the chair of the learned man in his very class-room.³ Rialto, where the life of the city was concentrated, usually served as the place chosen for launching these malicious and anonymous libels; they were frequently attached to the famous stone called the Gobbo di Rialto, from the figure of a hunchback supporting it, whence the laws of the Republic were promulgated. The Gobbo di Rialto became in a way the Pasquino of Venice, and under the name of the Gobbo innumerable lampoons on men, manners, religion, even on the government, were launched upon the town.⁴ There

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, XI, 680.

² For the satires on Aretino see Luzio, *Rime del Berni trascr. da M. Sanudo* (in the *Giornale Storico di Lit. Ital.*, VII, 322).

³ Sanudo, *Diari*, LVII, 288.

⁴ Moschetti, *Il Gobbo di Rialto e le sue relazioni con Pasquino* (in the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, T. V, Part I).

was another statue in Venice, Sior Antonio Rioba, as it is called by the people, built into the angle of an old house¹ in the Campo dei Mori at the Madonna dell' Orto, which had a kind of kinship with the Gobbo di Rialto, and served as a cloak for popular satirists. There are two other figures also built into the walls of the same house which belonged to the brothers Rioba, Sandi, and Afani, who came from the Morea in 1112, and gave its name to the Campo.

Malignant personal satire began to flourish in Venice, when Aretino first appears upon the scene. The ribald libeller whose pen spared no one, not even the noblest ladies like the Duchess of Savoy, who he impudently declared *facea col consenso pontificio gli amori in Bologna* with Charles V, her brother-in-law; or the pure and pious Veronica Gambara, Lady of Correggio, whom he lyingly styled a *meretrice laureata*; or that high-born stainless lady, Isabella d'Este, described by him as *la mostruosa Marchesana di Mantova la quale ha i denti de hebano e le ciglia di avorio, dishonestamente brutta et arcidishonestamente imbellettata, partorirà in senettute*, — soon found a host of imitators. Aretino exercised over his contemporaries a veritable tyranny, and it is a scandal not only that the age put up with him, but that high-minded women, and even Vittoria Colonna, the noblest of them all, stooped to traffic with their villanous calumniator, in order to save themselves from his vile slanders and his baser threats of black-mailing. Isabella d'Este alone had the courage to despise the venal adventurer.²

It was such infamous libels as these that set the tone

¹ This house is part of a Gothic palace with a façade on the canal, also decorated with sculpture; one of the groups represents a man in Oriental costume leading a camel. The three brothers, Rioba, Sandi, and Afani, are believed to have founded the family of the Mastelli, oilmen and druggists, who had a store at Cannaregio, at the sign of the *Cammello*.

² Luzio, *Un pronostico sat. di P. A.*, op. cit.

to the satires in dialect which passed from hand to hand, and attacked not only the most conspicuous personages in the State, but even passed beyond the borders of the Lagoon to ridicule people and events. We have numerous examples, either already published or still lying buried in manuscript, of this satirical vein, which we shall meet with again and again in the course of our studies of the private life of Venice. Without dwelling at length on satire of a purely political tendency, we may note that this species usually attacks only the enemies of the Republic, and that its venom is therefore, to a certain extent, justified. For example, the invectives against Lodovico il Moro may be compared with the copious praise of such friends and defenders of Venice as Bartolomeo Alviano.¹ The pungent wit of popular rhymesters mocks the Turks after their defeat at Lepanto, and among the numerous poems in dialect, usually poverty-stricken in ideas, we may note one remarkable for a certain military *élan*, entitled *Barzelletta sulla rotta dell'armata del Sullano Selim ultimo re dei Turchi*, supposed to be sung by the troops, who, after seeing the Turks bolting like cats, burst out into a chant of victory:

O Strathioti palicari,
visto haveu pur l'allegrezza
Venetiana e la gramezza
de li Turchi a Cuciulari
O Strathioti palicari.²

Carlo Emanuele I of Savoy was another victim of the Venetian satirists, and it must be admitted that certain aspects of that prince's character, his duplicity³ coupled with personal bravery, were not unhappily hit upon by the anonymous Venetian rhymester:

¹ See the Bibliography attached to Medin, *Storia della R. di Venezia nella poesia*.

² Gamba, *Serie degli scritti in dialetto ven.*, p. 85. Venezia, 1832.

³ Balbo, *Sommario*, p. 322. Firenze, 1856.

Mo vu tutt' intun tratto sotto pase
 Ordì trame, fè quello che ve piase
 O balestron, furlan, che tanti amisi
 Pur che fè 'l fatto vostro, nò vardé
 A chi tiré, a vesini, o pur nemisi
 A che sì, che anco un dî ve pentirè.¹

But this loose and mocking vein of verse soon passed from the domain of politics to attack individuals in their private life and habits. Aldus Manutius the younger, son of Paolo, wished to dissolve his marriage contracted in 1572 with Francesca Lucrezia, daughter of Bortolo dei Giunti, the Florentine printer, and immediately he became the mark for mockery and sarcasm:

An. m. (*oh! missier*) Aldo a che ziogo zioghemo
 Ve maridè in Venesia,
 Godé in gratia de Dio
 Fé fioli e pò, vu cogioné la giesia!
 Fazando dechiarar per quanto intendo,
 Chel matrimonio è nullo . . .
 Cogioni, pare, ò che ve se pentio.
 Della mogier, o ella del mario . . .
 Mo ve aspetto zudio,
 E có sarè stufao,
 Che ve fè mussulman
 Per far qualche comento all'alcoran . . .
 Horsu concludo e digo e stago saldo,
 Che sè un coggion vitioso in stampa d'Aldo.²

Among the inedited satires we have an *Epilome Vitæ Cornelij Franzonij Merdamatici spurcissimi*, a bitter invective against Cornelio Frangipane of the noble Friulan family, a brilliant orator, who, according to the anonymous libeller, after studying in Padua came to Venice and

comminciò aprir un ludo litterario
 ove concorse una schiera de gioveni,
 che li imbeù de costumi sì pessimi,
 che non so come soffra esta Republica,
 che una pianta malnata e così sterile
 tanto alligni in terren fecondo e nobile.

¹ Pilot, *Alcuni componimenti ined. contro Carlo Emanuele I* (from the *Ateneo Veneto*, Jan.-Feb. 1905).

² Id., *Il divorzio di A. Manuzio il giov.* (in the *Ateneo Veneto*, Jan.-Feb. 1904).

After ridiculing Frangipane's pretensions as mathematician, jurist, and man of letters, the writer concludes :

. . . per te son devenuto Archiloco,
non darò fine mai à rime e à sdruzzoli
se pria tu non mi fai una Palinodia.¹

Not even the great architect Palladio escaped, and the two following quatrains form part of a collection of epigrams attacking him :

Qui sta 'l Palladio il qual mentre misura
un pezzo di fragmento d'acquedotto
gli cadde adosso, et ci rimase sotto
et hebbe un tempo morte, e sepoltura.

Non va il Palladio per mal a putane
che se pur qualche volta suol andar
lo fa perchè le esorta a fabricar
un atrio antiquo in mezzo a Carampane.²

Fabio Patricio, orator and poet of Monopoli, called *el Dottor*, was also the object of satires inspired by venomous hatred; in a sonnet he is thus apostrophised

. . . un fufantone
un Parasito, uccellator da cena,
un ruffian manigoldo da catena,
che vive à torto e muore per ragione.

Ma Vinegia riceve ogni bruttura,
venga ogni infame da Città sbandito,
che qui ne andrà de mille fregi adorno.

Another sonnet begins :

Vu, che in versificar passè ogni meta,
fazzando à viver mo cò fa el chiappin,
in zuzarve le ongie e far bocchin
ve tegnù mò pì bestia o pì Poeta?³

Gasparo della Vedoa, who in 1493 was elected secretary to the Senate and filled the office of Grand Chancellor more than once, is thus lampooned :

La gorna è quella che conduse l'acqua
Canalis che vuol dir Gorna in latin
No vien al Vedoa che xe gorna da vin.⁴

¹ Marciana, cl. IX ital., cod. 173, p. 236.

² Ibid., cod. 271, p. 45.

³ Ibid., cod. 173, p. 269.

⁴ Ibid., cod. 271, p. 91.

In some *Stanze in nome de Zan Donà dalle renghe*, the famous orator complains that at the age of sixty the government wishes to deprive him of his offices and honours.

Mi che ho tegnuo la balanza dretta,
no vardando ne a brogi, ne a favori,
vu me havè fatto ascender a stafetta,
a savio, a consegier, a tanti onori,
ne so qual mala stella, o mal pianeta
ve habbia messo in la testa questi humori,
che me volevi far procurador
e adesso anche el Pregai me volè tuor? . . .

But back comes the contemptuous reply :

. . . vu favorì nome marioli,
e si volè scusar quei che ha la colpa,
vu, i tegnì tutti in luogo de fioli,
che de sto fatto ciaschedun ve incolpa.¹

Marco Corner, Podestà of Padua (1583), came in for his share of abuse :

. . . quel ch'era sì da ben
Quel ch'era giusto quel ch'era un Caton . . .
Si non conosce più ne mal ne ben
Et è del tutto diventà un gioton.²

A ballad written to attack a patrician lady of the Dandolo family shows how the smallest trifles were seized upon as a handle for malignant satire :

. . . quinterni et risime
Vegar veggilo in dispreggio
Su le piazze e nei circoli
De barzelette, e frottole
Canzon, stanze e capitoli,
Sonetti e versi lirici.³

Sometimes the epigram has that loose note which we catch as the precursor of the shameless license in vogue among the writers of the decadent seventeenth century. The patrician Giovanni Quirini, who lived at the close

¹ Museo Civico, Cod. Cicogna, 819.

² Ibid., Cod. Correr, 347, p. 68.

³ Marciana, cl. IX ital., Cod. 173, p. 117.

of the sixteenth and the opening of the seventeenth century, makes lewd jests at the expense of another patrician, Marco Dolfín, whose marriage with a lady of the Zeno family was annulled on the plea of impotence:

. . . quel che pigliò al scuro
la Giovene novizza alla Zuecca
E che troppo inscio, e puro,
già più di sette mesi stà con ella,
non ha potuto ancor
Et Ella per trovarsi un buon Amico
vuol disfar ogni intrico.
Parechiatevi tutti,
chi sà che alcun di voi non godi i frutti?¹

Among personal satires we must mention two madrigals by Maffeo Veniero, the *dottorato di un nano* and the *matrimonio di un gobbo*, and the *caso occorso a uno Spagnuolo*,² by Angiolo Ingegneri, a Venetian poet and writer (d. 1613), who in the course of his wanderings found himself at Turin in 1578, and there gave a kindly welcome to the fugitive Tasso. Veniero makes fun of a poor dwarf who had taken his doctor's degree at Padua, and pointing the finger at him he declares that never was there seen such a doctor, for he could easily make a house for himself out of the parchment of his diploma:

No se trova un Dotor simile a vu!
I altri in cima o in fondo
Del Privilegio i à 'l nome solamente,
Vu, Dotor ecelente,
Ve podè far de quela bergamina
Casa con sala, camera e cusina.

The poet is even more sarcastic about the marriage of a very beautiful girl with

Un Gobo fato a fondo de melon . . .
Tuto difetti e tuto una magagna.

¹ Museo Civico, Cod. Correr, 860. We owe the foregoing citations to the courtesy of Prof. Antonio Pilot, who has edited with much critical ability several of these satires which give us a curious picture of Venetian habits.

² Gamba, *Collezione delle migliori Poesie scritte in dialetto ven.*, II, 76. Venezia, 1817.

Ingegneri tells us, with a considerable sense of humour, the story of a Spaniard who had ventured to pinch a lady, and received for his pains a sound slap on the nose from the fair one's patten :

Pur se l'ofeso xe 'l Spagnuol, mi taso,
E l' ò per cortesissima azion.
Perchè quella galante Nazion
Stimarà sto favor magior d'un baso.

Another form of satiric verse was the epitaph in which Andrea Calmo excelled. Some of these, the fruit of Calmo's playful fancy, have been taken seriously by Laurenz Schrader in his *Monumenta Italiae*.¹ One of these which Schrader says existed in the church of San Procolo at Venice is in Maccheronic Latin ; the other is its translation into Venetian dialect, and runs thus :

Perchè voio che ognun si me intenda
Se ben i no sapesse de latin
Son Petoloto de chà Pulesin
E prieghè Sant' Alban che me defenda.

The form of the sepulchral epitaph is used for purposes of banter, and they were dedicated to any unlucky person whom the author desired to ridicule ; here is one written for a patrician of the Dandolo family :

Qua iace quel meschin del gobbo Dandolo,
buona persona ma un puoco grossetto,
El qual feva ogni zorno qualche scandolo
in casa per pissar la notte in letto,
che andando a piar cappe co un sandolo
co' le so calze che è senza bragheto
morite 'l Poverin fagando un salto
co 'l naso in fango, etc.

And another to a patrician, Molin :

¹ *Monumenta Italiae quae hoc nostro saeculo et a Cristianis posita sunt, libri quatuor* ed. a Laur. Schradero, L. III, p. 560. Helmaestadii, 1592. Two other burlesque epitaphs by Calmo, Schrader says were in the church of San Giovanni Novo. See Cicogna, *Iscr.*, III, 116.

Son quel Molin, che feva la mia vita
 al Capello, al Salvadego, alla Luna
 in sti palui, no ghe è ostaria nissuna
 che ogni hora no ghe fesse qualche sita.
 Bibite omnes e magnè volintiera,
 quia venit mors e ve lieva dal mondo,
 e vos conducit al basso, e al profondo,
 ubi non est ne bocal, ne inghistera.

And a third addressed to Giambattista Maganza, the painter poet of Vicenza, which is remarkable for its venom :

El Maganza carogna è in questa cassa
 Poeta goffo, e pittor da do soldi
 Fiol d'un zaffo re di manegoldi.
 Viator turate il naso e guarda e passa.¹

Without descending to personal abuse Venetian satirists lashed the vices of their day, — the venality of women in love affairs, the shamelessness of courtesans, the less ascetic occupations of the nuns, and so on. In a *Capitolo contro i Riallini*, which is followed by a reply, the author ridicules the manners of the Venetian middle class, who endeavour to imitate the aristocracy, in the way of dress, in their mode of life, their treatment of their women, and of their mistresses.

We have also a ballad attacking certain *maestri di filosofia*,

un chiappo da filosofi sferdii
 andarà st'anno alla filosofia,

which ends thus :

Canzon con verità che si puol dir
 cantando de sta rara compagnia
 senza ponto mentir
 Povera e nuda vai filosofia.

In a *Canzon contra il Dottor A*, the three Riformatori dello Studio di Padova are attacked for the carelessness with which they select readers in philosophy.²

¹ These three inedited epitaphs, now in the Marciana, cl. IX ital., codd. 173, fol. 123 t^o, 214 t^o, 217, were pointed out to us by Professor Pilot.

² Marciana, cl. IX ital., cod. 173, vol. 77.

We have the quaint titles of numberless pamphlets of this nature. They usually consisted of four or six pages containing verses full of sly quips, but free of venom, such as the *Historia nova piacevole la quale tratta delle malitie delle donne* — *Canzone morale di Santo Herculano* — *Le ridicolose canzon de mistro Pizin da le calde aroste et de mistro Beneto che vende le lesse, cosse da far crepar da rider e morir de fame.*

At Rialto, where the itinerant minstrels recited or sang the *Pianto delle Massare*, with its passages of licentious wit, one might hear, too, the reply in which those maids-of-all-work band together in a conspiracy against their tormentors :

Demo in prima a quel giotton
Che sul ponte di Rialto
Vostro pianto, o sia canzon,
Vende e cria con parlar alto,
Femo farlo in acqua un salto
Chì altri s' havrà a castigare
Corrè qua, corrè Massare.¹

All these poets of satiric comedy faithfully reflect the temper of the Venetian populace, bent on banishing melancholy, giving itself up to carnival and fête, and wont to fling a smile over the gravest or the saddest occurrences. The famous battles of fisticuffs, so popular with the mob, became the theme of a mock-heroic poem in octave stanzas²; the punishment of the *cheba* (the cage), hung from the Campanile of San Marco, inspires another poet, who in the *Lamento di prè Agostino messo in cheba*, turns the laugh against a priest condemned to that horrible expiation for swearing and gambling. He makes the culprit bewail his crimes and bemoan the pains and contumelies he suffers at the hands of the mob who mock and insult him :

¹ *La Congiura che fanno le Massare contra coloro che cantano la sua Canzone.* In *Frezzaria al segno della Regina*, 1583 (reproduced by Menghini, *Canz. ant. del pop. it.*, Vol. I, fasc. I. Roma, 1890).

² *La guerra de' Nicolotti e Castellani dell'anno 1521*, a poem by an unknown author. (*Gamba, Collez. delle migliori Poesie*, I, 15.)

Mi porgono a mangiar per un sol buso
 Con l'acqua che mi dan 'vece di vino,
 E con ragion il mio peccato accuso.
 E più mi duol che ogni sera et mattino
 Da meggio di a tutte quante l'ore
 Mi chiaman i fanciui : o pre Agostino.
 Mi danno alcuna volta tal stridore
 Che son costretto di pissarli adosso
 Per isfocar alquanto il mio dolore.¹

In the same mixed Tuscan and Venetian and in similar metre we have the *Lamento della femena di pre Agostino*, the lament of Father Agostino's woman, when in the midst of her illicit affection and her shame for the condemnation, the poet has known how to introduce a note of genuine pity ; she stands looking up at her Father Agostino hung

A meggio il campanil sopra la Piazza

and exclaims :

Piango che come uccello non ho l'ale,
 Che teco ad habitar nel picciol tetto
 Pronta verrei a congoder tuo male.²

Among the *historie* which, as *la femena di pre Agostino* says, were sold *per li ponti e per le piazze*, among the aubades, serenades, ballads, roundelays of other Italian districts, we find songs written in a dialect which helps us to realise what a babel of tongues must have filled the streets of the city, which was the meeting-place for people of every race. The various languages which could be heard on the piazza, at the market, in the shops and building yards, mingled with the pure vernacular, and produced ballads *alla schiavonesca*, all

¹ *Lamento di Pre Agostino che si duole della sua sorte che lo abbia fatto Imperator senza imperio, e messagli la lingua in giova* (branks for gaggling blasphemers) *per biastemmar et al fin l'hanno messo in chebba condannato pane e acqua. Con alcuni suoi utile arricordi* (1548).

² *Il lamento della Femena di Pre Agostino, qual si duol di esser viva vedendolo in tante angustie : e duolesi di non poter morire. Con alcuni aricordi della donna. Cō una Frottola d'un Fachin che gli da la baia. Et un Sonetto di p. Agustin che la cōforta.* On the frontispiece is a rude cut showing the campanile and the cage.

grechesca, alla tedesca, alla bergamasca, alla padovana (pavana), alla levantina; for example, the *Ridicule canzonette del mistro Gal forner todescho*; the *Testamento de Juan Polo alla Schiavonesca*; the *Frottole bergamasche de Peder Strazza fachin de l'Arsenal*, and so on.¹ In a dialect half Venetian, half Greek, Antonio da Molino, called *Il Burchiella*, wrote the *Barzellette dei quattro compagni Strathioti, I fatti e le prodezze di Manoli Blessi*; and in a hybrid between Italian and the Bellunese dialect, the notary Bartolomeo Cavassico of Belluno (d. 1555), composed a volume of popular songs, hitherto inedited.²

This flood of dialectical verse, often trivial and fantastic, but sometimes rich in all that renders life real and vivid, challenges the conventional refinements of the Petrarchists and the followers of Bembo, and constitutes a valuable source of information on the history of Venetian manners and customs.

¹ Gamba, *op. cit.*

² V. Cian and C. Salvioni published a copious selection of *Le rime di B. Cavassico*, Bologna, 1893-94 (in the *Scelta di curiosità lett.*). Cian prefixed an elaborate Introduction on the life and works of Cavassico.

CHAPTER IX

SCHOOLS IN VENICE, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PADUA—THE PRESS, LIBRARIES, LIT- ERARY COTERIES, AND ACADEMIES

THE Venetian government, in its care for all that might benefit or adorn the State, turned its vigilant attention to the question of education. It accepted the current principles of pedagogy, the foundation of which constituted one of the chief glories of the Italian Renaissance,¹ and insisted that the earliest instruction should be directed to instilling into the mind of youth the principles of virtue, habits of cleanliness and order, kindly feelings towards neighbours, and respect for authority. Under its watchful eye, moral training and education went hand in hand; amidst the wonted noises of a classroom and the innocent escapades of childhood,² the youth of Venice grew

¹ Gerini, *Gli scrittori pedagogici italiani dei sec. XV e XVI*. Torino, 1895-97.

² Garzoni (*Piazza*, p. 726) has left us a lively sketch of the habits of boys in his day: "Far chiasso nelle scuole, romper silenzio nell'assenza del maestro, dar dei pugni a colui che tiene la norma, far le fugaccine dentro i salterii, cacciar la testa nei studi, e mangiar le castagne di nascosto, giocare a piffo e paffo con la cera o a primo e secondo con Virgilio e Cicerone, giocare a trentuno, far le barchette da acqua con la carta, pigliar le mosche e serrarle nei scartocci, dar la caccia ai grilli, per farli cantar in scuola, portare i parpaglioni da volare, aver le piastrelle di piombo nella sacca per giocare, attendere a dipingere le rosette, a far dei pali da correre, fare scarabozzi sopra i Donati, dipingere teste dentro nei Guarini, strappare il Cato per non tenerlo a mente, mordere colui, che gli leva a cavallo, dimandare d'ogni ora d'andare ad locum, attaccare la foglia di fico alla sedia del maestro, nasconderli la scutica magistrale, recitar fra la frotta dei scolari l'Ariosto, in cambio delle epistole di Ovidio, uscir di scuola come diavoli incatenati, urtarsi fra loro come tanti facchini, girar per le mura facendo mille pazzie."

up to revere their parents, to adore their faith, and in simplicity of manners and habits.

The appointment of public teachers was made not only after an examination of ability, but upon a most rigid inquiry into morals, the intention being that teachers should not merely educate the intelligence, but also train the mind of their pupils in the principles of sound morality. This line was also adopted by the private tutors who, like Barzizza in Padua and Guarino in Venice, kept boarding-schools.¹

But these precautions did not always meet with success, and as morals grew loose, their influence made itself felt among the teaching class; not all of them brought up the youth intrusted to their care in *boni costumi con ogni studio et diligentia*, and some are even blamed for their *negligentia et cattivo esempio*. In this connection we have the curious deposition of Giovanni Foresto sworn on August 9, 1544, before the *Magnifico Zudesi de Procurator*. Giovanni was assistant master to his uncle Stefano Piazzone, who *teniva Scuola de gramatica alla Madona della Fava*, and enjoyed a wide reputation in Venice, where he was the teacher of Paolo Manuzio and of many patricians, among them the brothers, Andrea and Marcantonio Minio.² His morals, however, were not above reproach, if we are to believe Giovanni Foresto, who accuses his uncle of having become entangled in a low amour with a certain wench called Andriana Zavatina.³ This was not a solitary case; the decree of the Council of Ten, July 7, 1567, obliging all teachers, under pain of a fine of five hundred ducats, to register themselves at the office of the Patriarch, whose function it was to supervise the morals

¹ Sabbadini, *La Scuola e gli studi di Guarino*, p. 26. Catania, 1896.

² Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 64.

³ Pavanello, *Un maestro del Quattrocento*, p. 31. Piazzone, who had taught *sempre cum fama de oetimo et fructuoso preceptore*, on March 20, 1526, secured a copyright for his *Precepti de rhetorica*. Fulin, *Doc. per servire alla st. della tipografia ven.* (Arch. Veneto, XXIII, 206).

of the city, is an indication that corruption had already spread among those who should have been most exempt from its influence.

In the primary schools infants learned to read out of prayer books and manuals of devotion such as the *Corona Pretiosa*, printed by Andrea Torresani da Asola in 1527,¹ or out of spelling-books like the *Libro maistrevole* (1524) of Giannantonio Tagliente; then came Italian and Latin grammar, and simple arithmetic taught in books like the *Luminario di aritmetica*, also by Tagliente;² they read the Latin works of Dionysius Cato, of Oelius Donatus, of Guarino of Verona, and other text-books in use during the Renaissance. No detail of instruction was overlooked, and children were taught *scrivere con la vivace man ogni qualità di lettere* under the guidance of Tagliente; we have examples of books on calligraphy such as the manual of Agostino da Siena, sumptuously printed in Venice, in 1565, by Francesco di Tomaso da Salò. Attention was paid to good manners and to deportment, as we gather from the following passage in a despatch of the Milanese Ambassador, dated January 10, 1490: "Heri se partite de qua uno prete magistro de scola, con tre putini, li quali due sono zentilhomeni, l'altro si è di popolo: li quali son molto zentili puti de balare, de far prediche et dire in rima, et altre zentileze assai."³ It is noteworthy that here we find a young boy, a son of the people, being educated along with two young patricians. We may add that Sanudo tells us that they taught *virtute et gramatica a li zovanetti patritii et altri*.⁴ The decree of the Senate, published in 1518, inviting candidates for the Chair of Greek, explicitly states that instruction in Greek is necessary in order to complete the education

¹ Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldes*, p. 293. Paris, 1834.

² Rigobon, G. A. Tagliente (in the *Ragioniere*, Ser. II, Vol. X. Milano, 1894).

³ Arch. di Stato di Milano, *Cart. Dipl.* Venezia, 1490, gennaio.

⁴ Sanudo, *Cronachetta*, p. 52.

of the aristocratic youth and of others, and therefore proves that the privileges and sharp distinctions which in the social sphere divided the patrician caste from the mass of the people had no place in the school, whose sole object was to turn out good citizens of whatever rank.

We may fairly conjecture that the wise principles which underlay the Venetian educational system are illustrated and in part epitomised in that excellent little book *Lo Scolare*, written towards the close of the sixteenth century by a Venetian friar Bartolomeo Meduna of Motta di Livenza.¹ Meduna's book, which is in fact a treatise on the science of Education, is cast in the form of a dialogue whose interlocutors are three of the leading men of his time, Alessandro Piccolomini, Marco Mantua Benavides, and Bernardino Tomitano. The leading theory of the author is that the differences between man and man, whether in the physical, the moral, or the intellectual world, do not depend on what is called fate or the influence of the stars, but on free will and habits contracted in infancy. It is this fact which gives its value to education, whose business it is to mould natural tendencies, and to direct the free will to the deliberate choice of good. The author accordingly takes the child even before birth, and gives advice to the parents in order to insure that the creature shall be born without natural defects. Once born, the babe should be suckled by the mother if possible, and she

¹ "*Lo Scolare* del R. P. M. Bartolomeo Meduna, conventuale di S. Francesco. Nel quale si forma a pieno un perfetto scolare, opera divisa in tre libri. Nel primo si tratta della generatione, l'educatione dei figliuoli, delle qualità del corpo e dell'animo dello scolare, dell'utilità delle arti liberali, della memoria naturale, e artificiale, e del conservar la sanità. Nel secondo si movono e si risolvono molti bei quesiti, e curiosi, e si ragiona del carico, e della elettione del lettore, dell'utilità delle scienze e del modo dello studiare. Nel terzo si discorre intorno alla civil conversatione, alle virtù et ai viti delli scolari, della nobiltà, delle armi, et lettere, e si toccano molte altre cose appartenenti agli studiosi. All'Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo sig. Alessandro Peretti Cardinal Mont'alto. Con Privilegio. In Venetia, presso Pietro Fachinetti, 1588, 4to, pp. 126."

should take charge of it up to five years of age, after which period the child should pass to the care of its father or to some one endowed with wisdom and kindness. If the child is to profit by study, it must have natural gifts of mind, body, and spirit, beauty and strength, intelligence and memory, purity of thought. That it may grow up well, it should never be forced in its studies, but must acquire a will consonant with its inclinations. As regards the method of education two things are requisite, — competence in the teacher and reciprocal good will between master and pupil. The course of study should be as follows: from seven to ten, grammar; from ten to fourteen, logic, rhetoric, and poetry; from fourteen to eighteen, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; eighteen to twenty-two, ethics and law; twenty-two to thirty, the remaining sciences. Meduna is a convinced advocate of physical exercise to which he assigns its due place in the curriculum. The existence of an art of education has not escaped his notice; he has grasped the necessity for a logical method in the course of studies and believes in early training as essential to future culture.¹

The theories of Meduna were in fact those adopted by the State of Venice, which, after providing for primary education, laid down excellent regulations as regards advanced studies, including Greek, Latin, — especially Virgil, Ovid, and Cicero, — and the greater Italian writers. The government turned a deaf ear to the fanatical observations of the Venetian Pope Paul II in his attack on the *eresia* of classical studies; “Li putti,” says the Pope, “non hanno ad pena due anni che senza che vadano ad scola sanno mille ribalderie; pensate come se degono poi riuscire de mille altri vicii quando legeno Juvenale, Terenzio, Plauto, Ovidio, e

¹ Gerini, *op. cit.*, dedicates a long chapter to Meduna, dwelling on the importance of his work which “è proprio tra le scritture così rare le quali danno assai più di quanto sembrano promettere.”

questi altri libri."¹ So little attention, indeed, did Venice pay to the Papal alarm that she was early in the field with Greek and Latin grammars. In 1495 Aldus printed Lascaris' *Grammatica greca*, and in 1498 Urbano Bolzanio's *Istituzioni di grammatica greca*; in 1540 the *Grammatica latina*, by an anonymous author, perhaps Bernardino Donato,² first issued at Verona in 1529, was republished in Italian in Venice.

The *pù prestanti in lingua latina* and the most worthy *del loco et professione*³ were invited to teach the aspirants to posts in the Ducal Chancery; in the second half of the sixteenth century parish schools for training clergy were opened; in 1551 each *sestiere* established a public school to teach grammar and Latin; in 1575 a chair of criminal notarial procedure was founded, and in 1579 they created the Ducal Seminary at SS. Filippo e Giacomo, which was transferred ten years later to San Niccolò di Castello.⁴

On January 23, 1511, the Senate passed an order recommending schoolmasters to use "omnem curam et diligentiam noscendi ipsorum juvenum cancellariae nostrae ingenia, et qui eorum apti et qui inepti . . . ad discendum . . . ne Dominus noster inutili et infructuosa impensa gravetur." This recommendation was carefully obeyed by the professors, whose hours of teaching were three or four in the morning (*lezioni de mane*) and a like number in the afternoon (*lezioni post prandium*) and even extra hours, *post lectiones ordinarias*. In order to develop the faculties of their individual pupils the professors established the debating societies known under the name of *disputazioni circolari*, where the pupils discussed the interpretation of the classics, read essays, and handled all subjects which

¹ Rossi, V., *Il Quattrocento*, p. 218.

² Zeno, Ap., *Note alla Bibl. d'eloq. ital. di Mons. Fontanini*, I, 52. Venezia, 1753.

³ Sanudo, *Diari*, XXIX, 188.

⁴ Tentori, *Saggio*, I, 290. Gallicciolli, II, No. 1718 to No. 1729.

had any connection with culture generally. Some of the patricians themselves undertook the task of teaching, and in November of each year, in the church of San Bartolomeo, a learned nobleman gave a course of lectures. No other aristocracy of that epoch can show us the honorable spectacle of its members filling professorial chairs. Those chairs were never allowed to remain vacant *per la comune utilità di tutta la studiosa gioventù et honor di questa città*,¹ candidates were numerous, sometimes numbering fifteen for a single chair, although the subject, however abstruse, had to be taught in Latin. Near the church of San Giovanni di Rialto the Republic opened an institute for those who *voleva imparar virtute et farsi dottissimi, senza andar a studiar a Padoa*, and Sanudo tells us that in 1494 public lectures were delivered there by Antonio Cornaro, "la di cui fama in diversi studij è celebrata; el qual quotidie dura grandissima fatica a lezer tante lettione, quanto leze in loica, filosofia et theologia."²

In 1490 Fra Urbano Bolzanio of Belluno, who later on was tutor to Leo X, opened a Greek school, and in 1497 the public chair of Aristotelian philosophy was founded and occupied for the first time by Leonico. In 1500, on the death of Giorgio Valla, who had been public reader in humanities in the hospital on the Piazza di San Marco, Sabellico³ was appointed to fill his place, and in the first quarter only of the sixteenth century the government invited to Venice to teach the students in the Chancery the following scholars of distinction, — Giorgio Merula, Benedetto Brognolo da Legnago, Girolamo da Forlì, Gerolamo Calvo, Marino di Scutari, Giovita Rapiccio, Raffaele Regio, and Marcus Musurus. We must also record among the public professors of various learning Pietro Alcionio,

¹ Sanudo, *Diari*, loc. cit.

² Id., *Cronachetta*, pp. 50, 51.

³ Arch. di Stato, Collegio, *Notatorio*, February 10, 1500.

humanist and Grecian; Vettor Fausto, a man of science and of letters; Fra Luca Paciolo who in 1508 in the church of San Bartolomeo lectured on Euclid to the leading magistrates, patricians, theologians, jurists, and mathematicians¹; while the celebrated Brescian Niccolò Tartaglia discoursed on the same subject at SS. Giovanni e Paolo.² Among the learned Italians who sought chairs beyond the Alps we find Venetians like Paolo Paradisi, who about 1530 was reading Hebrew in the University of Paris, where half a century earlier another illustrious Venetian, Girolamo Aleandro of Motta sul Livenza,³ had filled the post of rector.

The official teachers in the Chancery and in each of the quarters of the city were paid by the *Governadori delle Entrade*, a magistracy created in 1433, and composed of three patricians. The salaries of the professors were derived, in part at least, from a *Dazio Grammatici*, or school rate, introduced at the close of the fifteenth century; it was levied on government stock, house rent, business profits, and amounted to upwards of fourteen hundred ducats a year.⁴ It is certain, however, that the students were obliged to contribute toward the salaries of their official instructors, who numbered twelve in the year 1551, but were subsequently reduced to eight. The stipends, if we bear in mind the date, were far from narrow. In 1455 Domenico Bragadino, in 1455 Giorgio Trapezunzio, and in 1500 Giorgio Valla were drawing one hundred and fifty gold ducats a year, while in the sixteenth century Marcantonio Sabellico and Girolamo da Forlì drew two hundred. Private tutors' fees were also high. In 1544 Stefano Piazzone's school numbered about one hundred and fifty pupils, whose fees amounted to five

¹ Tiraboschi, VI, 556.

² Tartaglia, *Quesiti et inventioni diverse*, Lib. 9. ques. 22. Venezia, 1546.

³ Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, pp. 103, 105. Milano, Vallardi.

⁴ Orlandini, *St. delle Magistr. Venete*. Venezia, 1898.

hundred ducats, besides eight or ten boarders who paid forty ducats a head per annum¹; and that being so we may imagine what the fees of more distinguished professors must have been, especially as they sometime combined private tuition with the duties of their public chair. Brognolo and Sabellico, in the afternoon hour when they were not engaged in teaching at the Chancery, gave lessons at San Silvestro, where Egnazio opened a rival school to that of Sabellico, and was able at his death to leave large legacies and handsome furniture, the fruits of his toil. In addition to public and private schools, we find that private tuition in noble and wealthy families plays a large part in the history of Venetian education. If we go back to the year 1402 we find a contract, dated June 27, by which Master Daniel of Capodistria binds himself to give instruction to Marco and Giacomo, sons of Agostino Contarini and Santi Apostoli, in return for a lump sum of twenty ducats; he undertakes to teach "dictum Marcum taliter quod bene sciet legere et intelligere literam unam litteralem sermone et ad ipsam sermone literali bene respondere insuper sciet scribere condecenter, et dictum Jacobum taliter quod bene sciet legere Donatum et Catonem a testum."² About the year 1480 we know that Pietro Cirneo, the quaint author of *De rebus Corsicis* and of *De bello Ferrariensi*, published by Muratori, was living with the Cappello family at Santa Maria Materdomini as tutor to the sons of Andrea Cappello.³ When Giorgio Valla, in 1496, was tried by the Council of Ten on the charge of some political misdemeanour, his companion, Placidio di Amelia, "homo de cervello e lettere," fell into the hands of Valla's judges, who tried to bribe him "dicendo volerlo meter in caxa de un

¹ Pavanello, op. cit., p. 31.

² Arch. di Stato, Cancell. Inf., Atti. Angeletto (de) Venetiis.

³ Dalla Santa, *Un testamento ed. alc. not. biog. di Pietro Cirneo, pretorico, umanista* (in the *Scintilla*, Nos. 40, 41, 1895).

zintilhomo per insegnar a sui fioli cum bone condition."¹ Fra Luca Paciolo was the guest of his pupils, the merchant family of Ropiansi, of whom he himself thus speaks: "Li nostri discepuli ser Bart^o et Francesco e Paulo fratelli de Ropiansi de la Zudeca, degni mercatanti in Venezia, figlioli già de ser Antonio sotto la cui ombra paterna e fraterna in lor propria casa me relevai."² Bartolomeo Ricci di Lugo (b. 1490), a distinguished grammarian, lived for many years in the house of Giovanni Cornaro as tutor to his sons, Marcantonio and Luigi, who afterwards became a Cardinal. Other private tutors of repute were Andrea Menio, a Brescian, *professor de studij de gramatica*, and author of several grammatical works (1497), Giovanni Aurelio Augurello, Giovanni Bernardo Regazzola, Raffaele Regio, Orazio Toscanella, Giovita Rapicio, and Fra Valerio Faenzi. Instruction, free from pedantic severity, usually took the form of an introduction to the art of living. The kindly teacher was the friend of his pupil; he took the youth for walks, and shared his games and amusements³; and when out of doors he would enforce his precepts by his own conduct, and would satisfy the curiosity of his pupil by illustrating his teaching from nature. The young nobles, too, would sometimes give a public proof of their learning; for example, in 1514, Antonio Mocenigo, when barely seventeen years old, delivered an oration *De laudibus eloquentiæ*, in the church of San Moisè, before a distinguished audience, including the ambassadors of France and Ferrara.⁴

¹ Dalla Santa, *Nuovi appunti sul processo di Giorgio Vala e di Placidio Amerino in Venezia nel 1496* (Nuovo Arch. Veneto, X, 13).

² Libri, op. cit., IV, 85.

³ Valerio Faenzi, member of the Accademia della Fama, writes to apologise for non-attendance at a meeting thus: "Piacerà alla vostra magnificèntia dir all' eccell. mi Signori Accademici che per oggi habbino verso di me compassione se io et per obbligo dell'officio mio et per desiderio di spasso vado a San Secondo con gli miei discepoli." Cicogna, *Iscr.*, VI, 860.

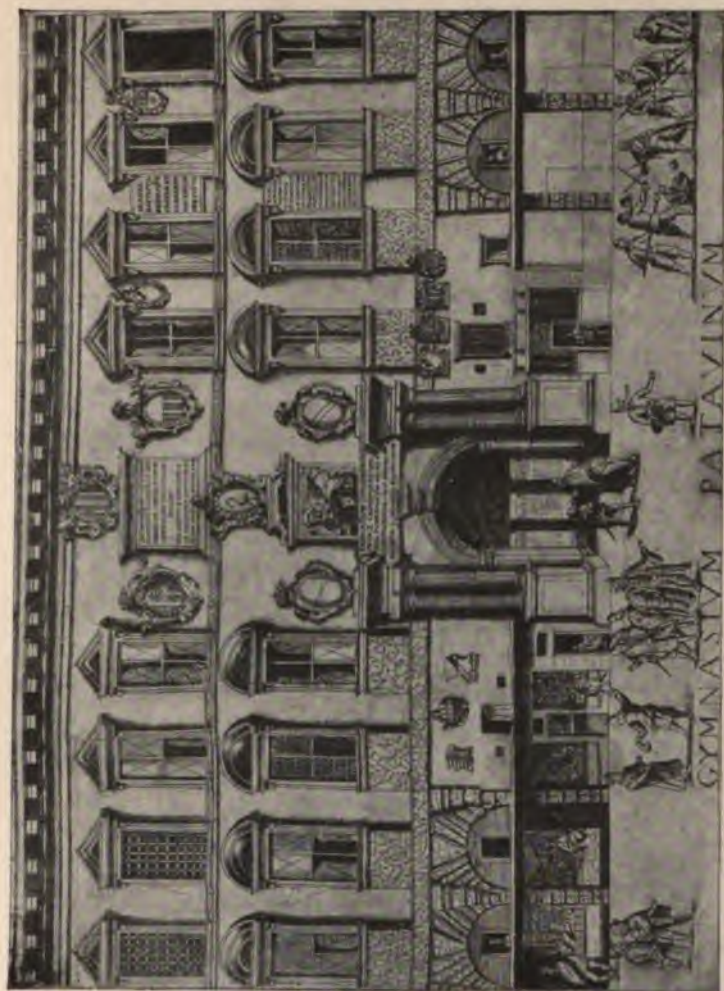
⁴ Sanudo, *Diari*, XIX, 278.

Many Venetians, after going through an ample course of instruction at home, would be sent to Padua to complete their education, which was intended to serve them in civic offices and in embassies abroad.

The University of Padua, which had already existed for three centuries now, to use a phrase of Sanudo's, blossomed *per la Dio gratia in bona perfectione*. In 1493 the modest classrooms scattered about the city in which lectures used to be given were abandoned, and the Republic converted an ancient palace of the Carraresi, and, later, of the Bonazini, which had already been fitted up as a splendid hostelry, *hospitium magnificum*, at the sign of The Bull, into a "Palace of Learning," which retained ever after the name Il Bò. The work of reconstruction was begun at once and continued down to the first year of the seventeenth century, when the building was completed in all its architectural details, which are, in part, preserved to this day, though the lion of San Marco, the Doge's arms, and the inscriptions on the facade have disappeared. When the storm aroused by the League of Cambray, which shook the State and emptied the schools of the Republic, had passed by, Venice at once turned its attention to the reorganisation of the University. Hitherto the administration had been intrusted to the Podestà and Capitano, the Venetian governors, known in Padua as the *Civici rettori*. In 1517 the Rettori were replaced by a commission of three Senators called the *Riformatori dello Studio*,¹ who besides regulating the course of studies, appointing professors, and assigning stipends, were also charged with the supervision of the printing-press, the schools, the galleries and museums of the State.

The Republic granted many privileges to the

¹ The first three Riformatori were Giorgio Pisani, Darino Zorzi, and Antonio Giustinian. Facciolati, *Fasti Gymn. Patav.*, Part III, p. 1. Patavii, 1752.



FACADE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PADUA—FROM A LATE XVI CENTURY PRINT



University; for example, it closed all other schools throughout its dominions, and in 1571 it forbade Venetian subjects to frequent any other university for higher education. When the Jesuits opened a school in Padua and woke jealousies, dangerous rivalries, and troublesome questions, they were ordered, in 1591, to confine their teaching to private instruction and to respect the statutes and privileges of the University.¹ The University established a clinical school, an anatomical theatre, a botanical garden whose first director was Luigi Anguillara, and a school *ad experimentum ingeniorum*.

The opening of the scholastic year took place in the Cathedral on the first of November, and every year Padua gave welcome to hundreds of students of all countries and of every rank in life.² They lived very comfortably. The richer came with tutors and secretaries; they rented whole palaces and squandered their money on women, jousts, balls; the well-to-do could find a good *pension* at the rate of seven crowns a month and six for their valet. Some of the more serious and studious lodged with the professors, and Galileo himself took boarders; others occupied lodgings kept by natives or by foreigners, and the Inquisition enjoined them not to *cucinare carne nelli giorni di quadregesima e neanche ne' di proibiti*.³ Poor deserving scholars were lodged and fed in colleges founded by private charity. Books, which cost less than at

¹ Favaro, *Galileo Galilei e lo Studio di Padova*, I, 67, 86. Firenze, 1883.

² Favaro, *op. cit.*, quotes from a manuscript in the University Library the following statistics:

1561	students	1210
1562	"	470
1563	"	541
1564	"	727
1565	"	720

³ Brugi, *Gli scolari dello Studio di Padova nel Cinquecento*. Padova, 1905.

Bologna, were resold at the end of the course to second-hand booksellers, usually Jews. By the beginning of the fourteenth century all the students in Padua University were united in two great corporations, each with its own rector: those enrolled in the *Universitas juristarum* took up law; those belonging to the *Universitas artistarum* pursued philosophy, medicine, and theology. The rector selected by the students was formally elected with solemn ceremony in the Cathedral, whither he went dressed in a crimson robe lined with ermine, accompanied by the professors, by a band of music, pages, students, and the head beadle carrying the silver mace. He was received by the bishop, the rectors, and the magistrates, and after being capped, the University seal and the statutes were handed to him; while he on his side presented the authorities with a gilded staff in sign of obedience. His term of office lasted a year; he enjoyed special privileges and precedence at public functions, he heard cases among the students, and in conjunction with the syndics and councillors of the nations, he watched over the order and good conduct of the University. He was allowed to take the degree of Doctor free of charges, and to help to meet the heavy disbursements of his office he received a golden florin from every student who proceeded to a degree. At the close of his term of office his arms, along with those of the syndics and councillors of his year, were placed in the Cortile, or in one of the lecture rooms of the University; these arms were either painted or carved on the walls and the vaultings of the classrooms, the portico, and the inner loggia.¹

The ceremony of proceeding to a degree, especially in the case of patrician students who were numerous

¹ Brillo, *Brevi Memorie sulla Università di Padova e sugli stemmi in essa esistenti*. Roma, 1898. Many coats of arms were restored under the direction of Signor Brillo and at his charges.

and, according to the report of the Podestà Grimani, *gentili, studiosi et di grandissima speranza*,¹ was celebrated with great pomp. Take, for example, the occasion when, on December 17, 1520, the young Andrea Priuli took his Doctor's degree. A large number of Venetian nobles went to Padua, and in the middle of the Prato della Valle a sumptuous banquet was set out. "Il Priuli," says Sanudo, "era alozato sul Pra di la valle in chà Venier; sicchè fu gran triumpho et a li promotori soi n° 8 donò un anello d'oro per uno et uno becho (cappuccio) di veludo cremisin."² Nobles who had taken their degrees enjoyed certain privileges; for example, they occupied special benches in the great Council on solemn occasions, and they took precedence of Cavalieri. The clergy, too, who had taken their doctor's degree were assigned raised seats in the choirs of the churches.

The students, who were severe but not always unjust critics of their teachers, deserted the classes of those lecturers who failed to arrest their attention or win their regard; on the other hand, they crowded to the classes of those physicians, jurists, and philosophers whose reputation was world-wide, and who were never wanting in the University of Padua, which attracted the learned by the richness of its salaries, amounting sometimes to one thousand two hundred pounds a year of our money.³

And in fact the University of Padua left its mark on the culture of Europe. Hellenists of the highest renown taught in its schools⁴; the chair of Greek was founded in 1463, and Chalcondila was its first occupant, being

¹ *Relaz. dell'anno 1554 del podestà Grimani*, quoted by Brugi. In that year there were upwards of a hundred Venetian nobles at Padua.

² Sanudo, *Diari*, XXIX, 384.

³ Gloria, *I più lauti onorarii degli antichi professori di Padova*. Padova, 1887. The money was supplied from a tax on the inhabitants; it amounted to two soldi a month for every individual above three years of age and of three lire on every wheeled cart.

⁴ Ferrai, *L'ellenismo nello Studio di Padova*. Padova, 1876.

followed by Giovanni Calfurnio, Lorenzo da Camerino, better known as Cretico, Niccolò Leonico Tomei, Marcus Musurus, Romolo Amaseo. Throughout the sixteenth century we meet with other distinguished professors of letters and of rhetoric, for example, Lazzaro Bonamici, Egnazio, Riccoboni, Sigonius, and Robortello.

Philosophy as taught at Padua exercised a still more remarkable influence on the thought of the world. The humanistic spirit which at the close of the Middle Ages had not succeeded in penetrating the classrooms of Padua, — where averroism still reigned supreme in spite of the Petrarchian attack, — asserted its sway towards the close of the Quattrocento, and flung far and wide the light of true learning, first under the leadership of Ermolao Barbaro and of Pietro Pomponazzi and other distinguished thinkers who laid bare the genuine doctrines of Aristotle unclouded by commentary, and by insisting on the distinction between truths of faith and truths of reason, prepared the path for freedom of thought.¹ It was in Padua that, to mention only the most famous, Zabarella, Pomponazzi, Bernardino, Tomitano, Passero, Galileo, and Cesare Cremonini da Cento, who mounted the chair of philosophy in 1591, all taught. Etienne Dolet, writer and printer (1509–1546), who was burned in Paris, acquired his liberal ideas from the teaching of Simon Villeneuve in Padua. Filippo Algeri da Nola, the precursor of Giordano Bruno both in his ideas and in his martyrdom, declared that he imbibed from the Paduan school of philosophy those views which were adjudged heretical, and caused him to be cast into a barrel of boiling pitch.

The faculty of medicine already distinguished by such illustrious professors as Cristoforo Barzizza, nephew

¹ Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*. Paris, 1889. Mabillean, *Ét hist. sur la phil. de la Ren. en It. (Cesare Cremonini)*. Paris, 1881.

of the famous Gasparino, Sigismondo and Girolamo Polcastro, Bartolomeo da Noale, Giovanni d'Arcoli the Veronese, Baldassare da Perugia, and the two Pietri da Montagnana — the one at the close of the fifteenth, the other at the close of the seventeenth century — shone with greater splendour when in 1537 it admitted the founder of modern anatomy, the Belgian Andrea Vesalius. Realdo Colombo of Cremona succeeded Vesalius in 1542, and was followed by Gabriele Falloppio (b. 1523, d. 1563), Girolamo Mercuriale of Forlì (b. 1530, d. 1606), physician to Maximilian II, and Girolamo Fabricio of Acquapendente (b. 1537, p. 1616), who taught for many years in Padua, surmised, if he did not enunciate, the theory of the circulation of the blood, and numbered among his pupils William Harvey, to whom that discovery is now attributed.

The *Universitas juristarum* was not less famous than the *Universitas artistarum*, and Paduan professors of law were known not merely in Italy, but throughout Europe, and saw their works printed both in France and in Germany.¹ We may mention Filippo Decio, the Socini, Francesco Curzio, Antonio Rossi, Marco Mantua Benavides, Tiberio Deciano, Giovanni Cefalo, Viglio Zuichemo, Francesco Mantica, Giacomo Menocchio, and Guido Pancirolo. The majority of these were not only skilled jurists, but were men of letters, connoisseurs in art, collectors, poets, astrologers as well.

The education offered by Padua drew scholars from all parts of the world; some of them became sovereign pontiffs, like Ottoboni, who assumed the tiara under the name of Alexander III, or secular sovereigns, such as Gustavus, King of Sweden, and John Sobieski, King of Poland, without mentioning the many youths of

¹ Brugi, *La Scuola padovana di diritto romano nel sec. XVI*. Padova, 1888.

noble blood, such as the Princes of Saxony and Anhalt and the Marquises of Brandenburg. In the world of science and of letters the name of their *alma mater* was held high by students like Conrad Peutinger, editor of the famous Roman military itinerary, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni Lorenzi, the friend of Politian, Bernardino Rutilio, Fabrizio Nausea, Francesco Guicciardini, Pandolfo Collenuccio, Lodovico Ariosto, Pietro Bembo, Donato Giannotti, Torquato Tasso, Giulio Pace, Guido Pancirolo, Giovanni Novizano, and others.

"Ma non tutti che hanno nome di scolari e vanno a Padova, ci vanno per istudiar lettere," so says a writer of the Cinquecento,¹ and adds that the French, above all, were wont to select Padua, *copiosa d'eccellentissimi professori in cadauna sorta di virtù magnifica et illustre*, "per imparare a cavalcare, a ballare, ad esercitarsi nel maneggio di qualunque sorta d'arme, e nella musica, e per saper finalmente i costumi e le creanze italiane delle quali sono invaghiti, e più per simili altre virtù, che per cagion di lettere." The German students, too, devoted themselves to military exercises, under special trainers, held convivial meetings, founded mutual benefit clubs and libraries, and committed to a journal the doings of each day; they were attached to the Venetian government, obedient to the civic authorities, but ready to settle their own disputes at the point of the sword. The Germans outnumbered the French, the English, and the Poles; during the second half of the sixteenth century the German students enrolled among the jurists reached the total of 5083, while the arts counted 977.² As a proof of the favours which the government bestowed on foreign students and teachers,

¹ Bucci, *Le coronationi di Polonia et Francia del Chr. Re Enrico III.*, I, 137. Padova, 1576.

² Luschin, *Vorläuf. Mittheilung. über die Geschichte deutsch. Rechtshörer in Italien*, pp. 20, 40. Wien, 1892.

we may cite the case of Melchiorre Guilandino, the Prussian, who succeeded Anguillara as Director of the Botanical Garden, at Padua; on his death, in 1589, he left all his books to the Republic as a token of gratitude.¹

As a matter of fact, the Republic was tolerant towards German Protestants, and exacted a like toleration from the clergy, although the Church did occasionally molest the Lutheran students, who, in their turn, were not always respectful towards the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic faith. The correspondence of students at Padua, in general, and more especially of the *oltramontani*, cannot find words adequate to laud, not merely the excellence of their teachers, but also the freedom of thought and the charm of the place. The relations between the Venetian governors and the students were usually cordial,² though of course such a concourse of hot-blooded youth could hardly fail to flame up sometimes into rivalries and even into armed collisions between the members of the various nations and the different schools, and sometimes between students and townsfolk. Jealousy and quarrels were rife among the professors, and it is generally believed that the animosity of his colleagues armed the hand of the assassin who in 1563 murdered Bassiano Landi of Piacenza, reader in philosophy and medicine from the year 1543.³

But study, to which, as a rule, the undergraduates of Padua eagerly applied themselves, rivalries and brawls which now and then broke the peace, did not prevent the young men from passing joyous hours over banquets, jousts, masquerades, theatricals. They tasted life in their light loves, their merry dinner-parties and noisy suppers. A letter written in the early years of the

¹ Faucioli, *Fasti*, cit., Part III, p. 402.

² Brugi, *Per la storia della Università dei giuristi in Padova* (in the *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto*, T. VIII, Ser. VII, 1897).

³ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.*, T. VII, p. 843, n. a.

Cinquecento gives us a curious picture of a student's supper.¹ The anonymous writer tells us that one evening he invited a number of students *et lo bidello et lo nodaro dell' Università*, to sup in his house. "While the meal was being prepared, the company, forty-five in all, including the host and two noblemen, passed the time in pranks and jests; some danced, some sang, some fenced, others pretended *pianzer un zudio o di sconzurar spiriti* (to rag a Jew or to raise spirits). Meantime six of the guests made themselves up in masks, *uno grando da m^r. Francesch, uno da fachin, dai da villani senza volto et dui da matello agilissimi* (one as Master Francesch, one porter, two bumpkins without masks, and two very nimble harlequins). When the hour for supper arrived, the student dressed as Master Francesch, who acted as carver, entered with his crew, and announced that all the dinner service was out on loan, and that there was nothing to put on the table but a cloth and some candles, but that he could at least see that the guests had their hands washed. He left the room and came back again, preceded by two torches and followed by the porter, with a bucket on his shoulder, and by the two harlequins, one with a pair of bellows and the other with a basin of rose-water; a third masker brought a towel. The guests had their hands squirted with rose-water from the bellows, and then they brought in the napkins, salt, bread, knives, and wine. [The napkins were babies' bibs, which each guest tied under his chin. Grated bread crumbs was all the bread, and the wine was in long-necked narrow bottles that held hardly a drop. Having first served in pigeon's drinking-cups a salad that had to be eaten with snuffers, and after keeping the table in a roar of laughter for a bit, at last they had pity on the famished guests, and course after course of

¹ *Un allegro convito di studenti a Padova* from a codex in the Marciana, cl. XI. ital. cod. 66, published *per nozze* by E. Loverini, Padova, 1889.

tempting viands was brought in in endless procession; but they were allowed nothing but crumbs for bread, and it was the greatest fun in the world to see them trying to swallow the crumbs, half of which stuck in their beards and moustaches."

On other occasions the party would get up theatricals and act comedies,¹ or they would meet in the streets and in the squares, to hear or to join in popular recitations or the serenades of strolling minstrels. The *Macaronea secta* and the *Accademia cosmicana* were probably composed chiefly of students; they were noisy gatherings of an evening for the exchange of wit and the playing of practical jokes.² Tifi Odasi, the Paduan, who flourished about 1477, has described the joyous gatherings of the *Macaronea secta* in verse which for its gaiety anticipates the poem of Folengo.³ Student wit appears again in the *Nobile Vigonze opus*, an anonymous Macaronic poem published in 1490, shortly after the issue of Odasi's verses. In the *Nobile Vigonze* we have the story of an unhappy imbecile who is made to lecture in the midst of universal derision.⁴ These were the diversions of the careless lads at Padua, and we may be sure that the Senatore Sebastiano Erizzo was not drawing from life when in his *Sei giornate*⁵ he describes a company of young foreign students met together in 1542 to discuss gravely the principles of ethics, friendship, and the higher virtues.

¹ The *Catinia* of Sico Polenton is an example of students' comedy (*lusus scholarium*). See Segarizzi, *La Catinia, etc.*, di Sico Polenton, p. lix. Bergamo, 1899.

² Rossi, V., *Caio Caloria Porzio* (Arch. Storico Siciliano, new series, an. XVIII, p. 250. Palermo, 1893).

³ Id., *Di un poeta maccheronico* (in the *Giorn. Stor. Lett. It.*, XI, 1 et seq.). According to Luzio (*Studi folenghiani*, p. 69, Firenze, 1899), the *Baldus* was suggested to Folengo by his *allegri compagni di Studio*.

⁴ Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, p. 149.

⁵ Erizzo, Seb., *Le sei giornate nelle quali sotto diversi fortunati ed infelici avvenimenti, da sei giovani raccontati, si contengono ammaestramenti nobili ed utili di morale filosofia*. Venezia, 1567.

The neighbouring city of Venice, however, roused still more lively anticipations, and in letters from some of the students at Padua we see that Venice alone attracted them and filled their fancy, for the joy of life was there untrammelled by study. Venice and Padua, bound together by intimate ties of thought and of habit, formed a single centre of culture and one of the most important in Europe. Illustrious men of learning flocked to the lagoons from all quarters, especially from Greece after the fall of Constantinople. Venetian culture owes a deep debt to these Greek exiles, and they were amply repaid. During the last years of the fifteenth and the first year of the sixteenth century Venice gave shelter to Demetrius Chalcondylas. Demetrius Muscus; Arsenius, Bishop of Malvasia; Antonio, hipparch of Corfù; Marcus Musurus of Crete; John Lascaris, ambassador of Louis XII of France; and others¹ who from the asylum of the lagoons spread the knowledge of Greek culture over Europe. Space will not allow us to mention more than a few of the illustrious Italians and foreigners who were freely welcomed by Venice. Francesco Uberti (b. 1440, d. 1518) lived there about 1482, and in Latin odes extolled its splendour and wealth; the wisdom of its patricians (first among them, of Leonardo Loredan); the virtue and learning of its ladies, like Cassandra Fedele; its courtesy to scholars, such as Giorgio Merula, Sabellico, and Giorgio Valla.² Hither, too, in 1456, came Antonio Flaminio of Imola, and after enjoying for some years the intimate friendship of the most eminent personages, he passed on to Serravalle, in the district of Treviso, where he married Veturia, daughter of Andrea, son of Martino da Ceneda, who bore him a son Marcantonio, the elegant writer of Latin verse. Here, too, Monsignor della Casa returned after serving as Apostolic

¹ Tiraboschi, T. VII, Part V.

² Piccioni, *Di Francesco Uberti*, Chap. III. Bologna, 1903.

Nuncio, and here in the *città beata* and in the pleasant sojourn at the Abbey of Nervesa, he wrote, between 1551 and 1555, that treatise on good manners which he entitled *Galateo*, after his friend and inspirer Galeazzo Florimonte, Bishop of Sessa. Here Luigi da Porto (1486-1520), author of *Giulietta e Romeo*, after the wound which rendered him unfit to fight, found tender and loving welcome and comfort before returning to his native Vicenza. Here Marcantonio Muret, so called from his birthplace near Limoges, won the friendship of such distinguished persons as Bembo, Contarini, and Manutius, by his vast erudition, and gave public lessons in a monastery of the Minorites. Venice, the lover of freedom, where the Inquisition never raised its ominous pyres, offered a safe asylum even to Clement Marot of Cahors, — who under the suspicion of Lutheranism had fled first to Ferrara to the court of Renée d'Este, — and to Etienne Dolet, who came to Venice from Padua in the train of the Frenchman Jean de Langeac, Bishop of Limoges, and who attended the course of Egnazio, in 1529, when lecturing on Lucretius.¹

The complicated movement of letters, arts, and sciences received especially valuable support from the printing-press, which was already flourishing in Venice by the close of the Middle Ages. The press of Nicholas Jenson was acquired, in 1479, by Andrea Torresani da Asola (b. 1451, d. 1521), who set the new art on the way towards that perfection which it attained under Manutius. Teobaldo Pio Manuzio,² better known by the diminutive Aldo, was born in 1449 at Bassiano in

¹ Copley, Christie, *The Life of Etienne Dolet*. London, 1880.

² The name Pio was added to that of Aldus in 1503, in virtue of a diploma granted by Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi, who was a pupil of Aldus. It has been thought that Aldus took the noble Tuscan name Mannucci out of vanity, but, as a matter of fact, he did belong to that family. Mannucci, *Gli Aldi e la famiglia M.* (See the *Fanfulla della Domenica*, n. 40-41. Roma, 1905.)

the Duchy of Sermoneta, near Velletri. He came to Venice about 1490, and at once made a friend of Torresani, whose daughter Maria he subsequently married; he dedicated his wide culture and profound learning to the publication of works of every kind. He was, indeed, the prince of printers, praised, admired, envied by many, excelled by none. From his modest press in the Campo Sant' Agostino¹ and from the more important establishment at San Paternian he poured out the texts of the classics, corrected, revised, judiciously annotated and rendered accessible to all. Aldus died in 1515, leaving his son Paolo barely three years old. Paolo, too, became a printer and a man of erudition; he spent his time between his labours as editor and frequent journeys, until in 1561 he founded a printing-press in Rome, where he expired in 1574 and was buried in the church of Santa Maria della Minerva.² By Margherita Odoni, Paolo had three sons and a daughter. His most famous son was the eldest, Aldus junior (b. 1547), who taught in the Chancery school at Venice and then at Bologna, Pisa, and Rome. In this city he was appointed to a public chair and was moreover, intrusted with the direction of the Vatican Press. After ten years' sojourn he died in Rome in 1597.

In the last decade of the fifteenth century Venice counted two hundred printers, who had issued in all 1491 works, while during the same period Rome issued only 460, Milan 228, Florence 179. Between 1501 and 1510, a period disturbed by war and misfortunes, the Venetian presses published 536 works, while Milan issued 99, Florence 47, and Rome 41.³ Compared with the sumptuous editions which Venice gave to the world as soon as the art of printing was discovered, her

¹ Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*. Paris, 1875.

² Mannucci, *op. cit.*

³ Müntz, *L'età aurea dell'arte it.*, trad., p. 236. Milano, 1895.

press rapidly became cheap and popular in style, paper, and fount; Italy was inundated by a flood of printed books which issued from the shops of the Nicolini da Sabbio, of Simon da Luere, of Marchiò Sessa, Ravani, the Milanese Rusconi, the Ferrarese Nicola de' Rossi, called lo Zoppino, Marcolini, Bindoni, Farri, the Brescians Paganini and Zanetti, Tramezzino, and that famous family of the Gioliti, who came from Trino in Monferat, and gave to the art those other master printers, Comin da Trino and Stagnino¹; and this army of printers found as clients, editors, even sometimes as proof-readers, men like Ariosto, Bembo, Tolomei, Bernardo Tasso, Doni, Aretino. To the refinements of type carried to perfection by Aldus, who, among others, invented cursive or italic character, the Venetian printers added the embellishment of woodcuts and copperplate engravings. The handsome French Books of Hours, which were scattered over Italy after the invasions of Charles VIII and Louis XII, especially the copies printed at Paris by Philippe Pigouchet and Simon Vostre, were at once imitated in Venice. But the French masters were quickly superseded by their Venetian followers, who, with a superabundance of fancy, laid under contribution antique sculpture, Oriental decoration, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, to furnish drawings for marginal borders and initial letters, marvellously pure and delicate in design.² Floriated initials, head-pieces, margins, were also accompanied by woodcuts or engravings, designed by a whole troop of unknown artificers reared upon the models of those master draughtsmen, Bellini, Mantegna, Mocetto, Montagna, Campagnola, and Jacopo de' Barbari. As examples of woodcuts, we may take the illustrations to the *Bibbia*

¹ Fumagalli, *Diet. Géog. d'Italie, pour servir à l'hist de l'imprimerie*. Florence, Olschki, 1905.

² Duc de Rivoli, *Les livres d'heures français et les livres de liturgie vénitiens*. Paris.

vulgare istoriata, known by the name of its translator, Nicolo Malermi, a monk of San Matteo at Murano, published by Giovanni Ragazzo in 1490, and those lovely designs for the *Sogno di Polifilo*, so admirably drawn that they have been attributed, though without reason, to Giovanni Bellini. The *Decameron* of 1492, and the *Herodotus* of 1494, issued by Giovanni and Gregorio de Gregoriis; the *Livy* of 1493, and the *Metamorphoses* of 1497, from the press of Giovanni Rossi; the *Dottrina del vivere religiosamente*, of 1494 (s. n. tip.); the *Terence* of 1497, published by Simon da Luere; the *Divina Commedia*, printed by Piero de Quarenghi; Luc' Antonio Giunta's *Graduale* of 1499-1500; the *De Divina proportione del Pacioli* of 1509, the work of Paganino de Paganini; Serlio's *Architettura* of 1540, by Marcolini; the Giolito edition of the *Orlando Furioso*, 1551, and the *Cinegetico di Giovanni da Scandiano*, also from Giolito's press in 1556, are further examples of beautiful illustration from wood blocks. Almost all these books have a printer's mark; the typographers looked on themselves as artists, and desired that some graceful design should associate their names with those of the authors.¹ At first the printer's mark was common to all typographers, but Torresani added his initials and a tower in allusion to his name, while Aldus adopted his well-known symbol of the anchor and dolphin, representing swift motion and repose.² The shop sign also was sometimes used as a printer's mark; for example, Alessandro Bindoni adopted the sign of "Justice," the Rusconi "St. George," da Sabbio the "Dragon," Stagnino "San Bernardino," da Trino "San Giovanni Battista," and so on.³ The paper, too, had its own water marks,

¹ Castellani, *L'arte della Stampa nel Rinascimento*, II, 8. Venezia, 1894.

² Erasmus, *Adagia*, p. 119, edit. 1520.

³ Castellani, *op. cit.*



POLIPHILLO QVIVI NARRA, CHE GLI PARVE AN-
CORÀ DI DORMIRE, ET ALTRONDE IN SOMNO
RITROVARSE IN VNÀ CONVALLE, LAQVALE NEL
FINEERÀ SERATA DE VNÀ MIRABILE CLAVSVRA
CVM VNÀ PORTENTOSA PYRAMIDE, DE ADMI-
RATIONE DIGNA, ET VNO EXCELSO OBELISCO DE
SOPRA LAQVALE CVM DILIGENTIA ET PIACERE
SVBTILMENTE LA CONSIDEROE.

IA SPAVENTEVOLE SILVA, ET CONSTI-
pato Nemo reuaso, & gli primi altri lochi per el dolce
somnia che se hauea per le fesse & prosternate mèbre dis-
fuso relieti, meritrouai di nouo in uno più delectabile
sito assai più che el præcedente. Elquale non era de mon-
ti horridi, & crepidinosi rupe intorniato, ne falcato di
strumosi iugi. Ma compositamente de grate montagniole di non tro-
ppo altezia. Siluose di giouani quercioli, di roburi, fraxini & Carpi-
ni, & di frondosi Esculi, & Illice, & di teneri Coryli, & di Alni, & di Ti-
lie, & di Opio, & de instructuosi Oleastri, dispositi secondo laspecto de
gli arboriferi Colli. Et giu al piano erano grate siluule di altri situaci

SPECIMEN of Venetian Typography and Xilography—
a page from the "Hypnerotomachia" of Poliphilo.
(Venice, Aldus, 1499)



called *filigrane*. Paper making was introduced into the Veneto at the close of the fourteenth century by artificers from Fabriano, and flourished at Padua, Treviso, in Friuli, and above all on the Riviera di Salò, where the paper-mills of Toscolano enjoyed a great renown.

The beauty of Venetian type, which was the object of such anxious care that Luca Pacioli even laid down the æsthetic proportions and the geometrical rules upon which the letters of the alphabet should be formed, was ably assisted by the perfection of Venetian type-founders. At first the Venetian printers were their own founders, but after the middle of the sixteenth century we begin to find in Venice those type foundries which supplied the founts for a large part of Europe.¹

We may gather from all this that the book trade in Venice was a flourishing business. The booksellers' shops were to be found chiefly in the Merceria, the Frezzeria, at Rialto and at San Moisè, while the printers dwelt for the most part at San Paternian. So numerous were both these branches of the trade that, on January 18, 1549, the Council of Ten ordered *che se debbi levar una Schuola de tutti color che fanno stampar et che tengono botega et vendono libri*.² The printers and booksellers began to hold their meetings in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and then in the neighbouring monastery; but no traces of the Scuola of this important guild have come down to our day, nor have we a single representation of one of those famous printing-presses where the Venetian workman with his quick and docile intelligence learned to compose and print. There is, however, a fine engraving, entitled *Impressio librorum*, designed by Giovanni Stradano, forming part of a collection called *Nova reperta* (Antuerpiæ, 1600). Stradano was born at Bruges in 1536, but settled in Italy, where

¹ Fumagalli, op. cit., Introduction, pp. xxvi and xxvii.

² Brown, H. F., *The Venetian Printing-press*, 1891.

he died in 1605. Many competent critics are of opinion that Stradano's engraving represents the interior of an Italian printing-press of the sixteenth century¹; if so, it is the most valuable document we possess to enable us to form an idea of one of those early workshops whence issued human thought in its new garb.

Nor are we more fortunate as regards the likenesses of these early printers, though contemporary memoirs permit us a glimpse of them in their home life, often excessive in its modesty. For example, we possess abundant information on the domestic life of Andrea Torresani and of Aldus Manutius. Torresani, though younger than Aldus, had a paternal regard for his senior, to whom at the mature age of fifty-six he gave his young daughter, Maria, in marriage,² and with her a dower of four hundred and sixty ducats.³ Maria, whom Aldus calls in his will, *prudens, optima honestate vitæ*, bore him three sons: Manuzio, who became a priest and lived in Asola; Antonio the bookseller at Bologna; and Paolo; also a daughter named Alda. Torresani lived in the family of Aldus, who was better fitted for study and the prosecution of his art than for business, and who found in his father-in-law not only aid in his pecuniary difficulties, but an acute and far-seeing partner in the administration of his press, which, in 1503, bore the following style, *In aedibus Aldi et Andreae*

¹ Madan, *Early Representations of the Printing-press* (in *Bibliographica*, Vol. I. London, 1895.)

² De Nolhac (*Les correspondants d'Aldus*, p. 17, Rome, 1888) quotes a document from which it would appear that Aldus married Maria Torresani in the Carnival of 1505. In a letter from Prince Pio di Carpi to Manutius (Vat. 4105, fol. 107) we read: "Sp. li preceptori meo dig.mo D.no Aldo Manutio de Piiis Venetiis. M. Aldo mio, ho hauto gran.mo adispiacere non mi potere ritrouare questo carneuale ale noze uostre, si per uisitare insieme cum la sposa, cummo anche per honararui e far apiacere; . . . uoy la confortarete pur assai da mia parte, pregandoui tutti duy insieme a uolere uenire fin qui, facto queste feste de Pascha, a ciò ui possa uedere e godere insieme cum li altri nostri amici di quà et di questo non me ne potreste fare maggiore apiacere in questo mondo. Carpi, XI Martij, 1505.—Albertus Pius de Sab. Carpi."

³ Bernoni, *Dei Torresani, Blado e Ragazzoni*, p. 16. Milano, 1890.



(A)



(B)

A — ALDUS MANUTIVS, THE ELDER. B — PAULUS MANUTIVS. (XVI century cuts)



Asulani soceri.¹ The home life of the Torresani and of Aldus is described, not without a touch of malicious irony, by Erasmus of Rotterdam, who in 1508 sought the quiet of the lagoons in order to finish his *Adagia* and to have them published by Aldus. The great philosopher found in the home of Aldus abundant food for the mind, but little enough for the body.² In the dialogue *Opulentia sordida* Erasmus obviously hints at Torresani, rich yet niggardly, at Aldus and their families, and at the company that frequented their house, Girolamo Aleandro, Marcus Musurus, and the family physician, Ambrogio Leoni. We must note, however, that at Aldus' table were often to be met Egnazio, Andrea Navagero, Bembo and Giambattista Ramusio, who certainly were never at a loss for a sumptuous banquet in the palace of some wealthy Venetian, and we must bear in mind that Aldus' house gave board and lodging to scribes, translators, proof-readers and artisans, as was the custom with many other master printers.³ Erasmus, accustomed to the heavy cooking of the North and immoderately fond of good wine, by nature satirical, has drawn too lurid a picture of his host's family. Nevertheless, in spite of exaggerations, this dialogue gives us a vivid idea of the life these men led in the midst of Venetian luxury, devoting themselves to their noble and fruitful labours. Erasmus declares that he suffered from cold, sleeplessness, and hunger⁴; the house, he says, was draughty in winter, and in summer so full of fleas and bugs that rest was impossible at night. The women were almost always out of sight, far away from the men, and gave no heed to domestic affairs. The master of the house thought of nothing else but making money; he watered the wine, bought mouldy flour for baking, frequently

¹ Bernoni, *Dei Torresani, Blado e Ragazzoni*, p. 19. Milano, 1890.

² De Nolhac, *Erasmus en Italie*, pp. 31-36. Paris, 1888.

³ Bernoni, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴ Bernoni has translated most of the dialogue, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 et seq.

giving his hands little but lettuce, and to his guests thin soup, cow's beef, bean-flour, and cheese as hard as a paving stone. Manutius certainly cannot be accused of avarice, and even if he did live thus parsimonious it is all to his credit, for he never played the niggard where good manuscripts were concerned, and his press cost him two hundred ducats a month.¹ Torresani though not free from the charge of miserliness, accumulated a fortune of not less than eighty thousand ducats, and when Aldus died unexpectedly, he took paternal care of his grandsons, ranked them with his own offspring in his affections, held high the repute of the Aldine press, paid his associates handsomely, and was certainly due to his advice and instruction that Paolo showed himself worthy of the family traditions.

Beyond a doubt the glory of the Venetian press was due to the initiative of certain individuals of strong character and boundless industry; for the most part they were foreigners, but they were enabled to develop their projects in Venice, thanks to the wisdom of the government which protected and organized the book trade, granting copyrights and safeguarding literary property, — beginning with the privilege conferred on Sabellico for his history, — and preceding all other states in these prudent provisions. At the close of the Quattrocento the copyrights became too numerous, and the government abolished them in order to encourage competition, "*la perfida et rabiosa concorrenza*," as someone who did not like it styled it. But the government approved of such competition, though resolved that it should be honest; it therefore took pains to insure a high standard of printing and to preserve the Venetian press the supremacy it had acquired. With this object in view the following order was issued in 1537: "Seeing that a harmful and unworthy habit

¹ Firmin-Didot, *op. cit.*, p. 919. Fulin, *Doc. cit.* (*Arch. Ven.* XXIII, 149).

has invaded the presses of this city, which used to be the best in the world, and that now, to save money over the paper, the most important item in the production of a book, the printers use such inferior qualities that almost all the books they turn out blot if one attempts to make marginal notes on them, and are generally of such a poor kind that they are not merely an injury to the purchasers — who are unable to make abstracts of the contents — but also form a crying disgrace and scandal to the state . . . be it enacted that from henceforth no one who holds a license from this Council shall dare to publish books printed on paper that blots, under penalty of a fine of one hundred ducats.”¹ Such was the severity of Venetian legislation in the matter of the press, which the government always styles *gelosa e importante*. The whole business of book production — the tariff of the compositors, devils, pressmen, based upon the number of sheets printed, the nature of the examination for admission to the guild — all form the subject of government supervision. The members of the guild had the very highest respect for their business; an act of the warden of the guild opens thus: “Considerando io Francesco Rampazzetto Prior di quest’ anno 1572 di quanta importanza sia questa nostra arte della stampa, la qual fabrica li strumenti a tutte le scientie et allo ’ncontro vedendosi per poco ordine quanti et quanto suscitano di continuo in essa arte, i quali, grossamente credendo che l’esercitio della stamparia sia cosa di poca intelligentia, si fanno lecito entrar al maneggio di essa per poca cognitione et manco esperienza che ne habbiano. La qual temerità si vede anco nelli librari, il qual inconveniente oltre al gravissimo danno et vergogna a questa inclyta città di Venetia, partorisce ruina precipitio et infamia ad essa arte nostra.”²

¹ June 4, 1537, published by Brown, op. cit., p. 209.

² Brown, op. cit., p. 253.

To this "instrument of all the sciences" the government was obliged to apply the checks required in the interest of morality, and on January 27, 1527, it instituted the censorship of the press, but its action was inspired by liberal ideas which distinguished between morals, politics, and religion.¹ The government was resolved that the State should never be torn in pieces by religious reforms, and permitted — to quote one example — the patriarchal vicar, accompanied by a secretary of the Council of Ten, to enter the house of a certain Zordan Tedesco, bookseller at San Maurizio, "a tuorne le opere di Martin Lutero stampate in Alemagna et mandate in questa terra a vender . . . e tolseno le opere havia."² *Tamen*, adds Sanudo, "io ne havia auto una e l'ho nel mio studio." But the city of Fra Paolo Sarpi resisted the rigorous restrictions imposed on the press by the Council of Trent and the intolerant Indexes which the Church sought to introduce from Rome.³

The great activity of the press rendered easy the formation of libraries and the enlargement of those already rich in codices. As early as 1473 the Republic had resolved to create a large library for the public benefit, and to harbour the collection of books bequeathed to the State by Cardinal Bessarion in 1469; but the vote was not carried into effect, perhaps because of the wars in which the Republic was then engaged, until the year 1536. The delay was not unfortunate, as it secured to posterity the magnificent building created by Sansovino. The nucleus of the Biblioteca Marciana was composed of the manuscripts left by Petrarch, but the rich legacy of the Cardinal of Nice formed its real foundation. These books were conveyed in 1492, from the Ducal Palace to the monastery

¹ Cecchetti, *La Rep. di Ven. e la Corte di Roma*, p. 405.

² Sanudo, *Diari*, XXIX, 135.

³ Cecchetti, *op. cit.*

of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which already possessed a famous library, as did the monasteries of Sant' Antonio di Castello, San Francesco, Santo Stefano, the Servites, and San Giorgio Maggiore. Private houses, too, possessed rich collections, where the codices and illuminated manuscripts were accompanied by books produced by the new art of printing, and all were handsomely bound and lodged in cupboards and on shelves of carved walnut.¹ The volumes, sometimes painted on

¹ As a contrast to the richness of Venetian libraries, we will give the modest inventory of the books belonging to Niccolò Tartaglia, who died in Venice on December 13, 1537:

"Die Iovis XVI Decembris in domo habitationis infrascripti D. Troiani commissarij posita in confinio Sancti Salvatoris. Inventarium librorum omnium quondam domini Nicolai Tartalea Doctoris Mathematicorum quondam domini Michaelis de Brixia factum ad instantiam Domini Troiani Navò Bibliopolae ad insigne Leonis in Merzaria eius commissarij vigore sui testamenti rogati penes me Notarium sub die decimo mensis decembris. Et prima:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 107 opere del Tartaia de numeri e misure parte prima, et seconda. | 3 Hieronimi Vida in 16. |
| 150 della terza parte. | 4 Amoni in 16. |
| 150 della quarta parte in foio. | 2 Montan in Aphorismos in 8. |
| 721 Voluta del capitolo del Salviati in foio. | 3 Libri del battizar in 8. |
| 5 Recettarij de spicieri, doi guasti da sorzi in 12. | 10 Gioan Gieron in 16. |
| 2 Epistole Tulij familiar d'Aldo in 8. | 10 Dialettiche Caesaris in 8. |
| 8 Terentij di stampa d'Aldo in 8. | 1 Gioan Farneli in medicina in 8. |
| 2 Lettere de diversi, libro 6 in 8. | 1 Eiusdem medendi ratio in 8. |
| 2 Oribasi di stampa d'Aldo in 8 un rotto. | 2 Ordo divini officij in 8. |
| 2 Epistole de Tulio d'Aldo vulgar in 8. | 3 Horatij con com.to a un li manca il fine in foio. |
| 2 Hieronymi Ragazzoni in epistolis Ciceronis in 8. | 3 Pratiche Farneli una imbrattà assai in 8. |
| 2 De Auctoritate Pontificis. | 3 Pratiche del Valeriola in medicina in 8. |
| 2 Ettiche del Figliuzzi in 8. | 1 Gioan Batt. ^a Montan in Artem poeticam Galleni in 8. |
| 4 Virgili d'Aldo in 8. | 1 Opera del Montan in 8. |
| 4 Richezze della lingua vulgare in foglio. | 3 Sacerdotaliae in 4. |
| 1 2 ^a parte dell' histoire del lovio in 4 strapazzà. | 2 Lexicon in greco in foglio. |
| 2 Consilia Boerij in 8. | 5 Almanach uno ruinato in 4. |
| | 5 Testamenti novi in 16. |
| | 1 Dialogo della Sanità in 8. |
| | 1 Svetonio vulgar in 8. |
| | 1 Marco Marulo di fatti d'hercule in 8. |
| | 1 Historia di Marco Ruffo p. in 8. |

the edges,¹ had bindings adorned with mosaics and brilliantly coloured enamels, which the Venetians were the first to use, before morocco came into fashion.² Leather bindings display the same chaste elegance which distinguishes the bindings in velvet with arabesques in gold thread and finely chiselled clasps. The binders of Venice strove to vie with the printers in the perfection of their art, and some of the volumes bound for the government or for the guilds, and fine copies of the Aldine editions display the very height of the binder's skill.³ Some, such as the binding of the Grimani Breviary, executed by Alessandro Vittoria, are veritable works of art; the breviary is clothed in crimson velvet, with bosses and ornaments in silver gilt,

- 1 Dialogo della musica in 4.
- 4 Motteti di Francesco Lupino in 4.
- 1 Logica del Piccolomini in 8.
- 1 Prima parte della filosofia eiusdem in 8.
- 2 Costantin Cesari vulgar in 8.
- 2 Summa conciliorum in 8.
- 2 Epistole Ovidij con commento in foglio.
- 2 Yasoni in artem poeticam horatij in 8.

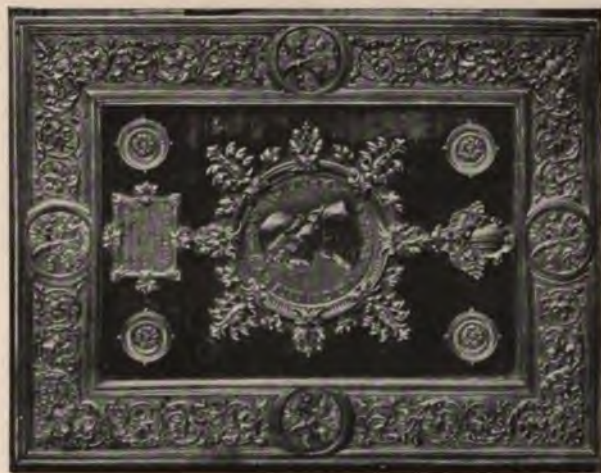
- 2 Palmerin d'Inghilterra in 8.
- 1 Marco Aurelio in 4.
- 1 Opera del Machiaveli in 4.
- 4 Natalis comitum de horis in 8.
- 4 Eiusdem de venatione in 8.
- 1 Ragionamenti del Caggio in 8.
- 1 15 libri di Euclide latino in 8.
- 1 Dialogo dell' amor divino in 8.
- Una balla dei libri da Paris nominata nel testamento.

In margine: "Testes ser Michael specularius ad insigne pomi aurei in marzeria quondam ser Symonis. Ser Octavianus de Ripa a coloribus ad insigne Rose in calli ab aquis. Testibus vocatis et rogatis." Arch. di Stato, Sez. not., Serie Atti, reg. 425, not., Rocco de Benedetti, 1556-1558, Vol. I, No. 357.

¹ The family of Piloni of Belluno owned a collection of books painted on the edges and covers by Cesare Vecellio. The precious collection has been sold to strangers. Venetian binding continued in high esteem down to the fall of the Republic. Giovanni Battista Casotti, a Florentine who accompanied Frederick Augustus of Saxony to Venice in 1713, talking of the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, mentions the rich library, "i cui libri, per le pitture che ne adornano le coperte, formano negli scaffali una specie di parterre, vago alla vista." Casotti, *Lettere*, p. 18. Prato, 1866.

² Fumagalli, op. cit., p. 484.

³ There is a beautiful binding to a copy of Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* which bears the name of Pietro Bembo in gold arabesques on the cover. It is in the library at Parma. In the year 1500 we find recorded the name of a binder, Benedetto, called Padoana. Fulin, *Arch. Ven.*, XXIII, 171.



Breviary of the Grimani Breviary, by Alessandro Vittoria

1

2

3

4

and bears the Grimani arms and the portraits of the Cardinal Domenico and of his father, the Doge Antonio Grimani.

The families of the Barbaro, Dolfin, Valier, Erizzo, Mocenigo, Da Mula, Paruta, Gradenigo, Da Ponte, Michiel, Lollin, Soranzo, Malipiero, Contarini da San Samuele, owned fine libraries; the latter possessed all the manuscript and printed books which referred to the history of Venice, as well as many scientific and artistic works with illustrations, besides mathematical and geographical instruments.¹ The library of the three Manutii numbered 80,000 volumes; the library which Cardinal Domenico Grimani left to the convent of Sant' Antonio di Castello, though not so voluminous, as it contained only 8,000 volumes, was enriched by the manuscripts which belonged to Pico della Mirandola. Not less remarkable was the library of Bernardo and Pietro Bembo, with its codices in Latin and in the vulgar tongue, which, after the Cardinal's death, passed to the Vatican.² The library of Marin Sanudo deserves special notice on its own account and because of its possessor. It was rich in manuscripts and in books, and above all in a series of pictures illustrating not merely varieties of costume, but the ethnographic characteristics of the human race. Sanudo left instructions in his will as to the disposal of his books.³ "Voio et ordeno," he says, "che tutti li miei libri a stampa et quelli a penna neli armari di la mia camera che sono in numero più di 6,500, i quali mi ha costà assai dinari, et vi è cose bellissime et rare, siano venduti al pubblico incanto." He then goes on to say that the books marked with a cross in his catalogue he had been obliged to part with "al tempo dei miei bisogni," though his real intention had been to "far una libreria

¹ Sansovino, *Venetia*, VIII, 370.

² De Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de F. Orsini*, p. 235. Paris, 1887.

³ Fulin, *Diari e diaristi veneziani*, p. xix.

in qualche monastero, o lassarne qualcuno in la libreria de San Marco, la qual libreria mai tegno se farà."¹ Prince Alberto Pio, Lord of Carpi, known for his vast erudition and his patronage of scholars, was in Venice, in 1511, visiting his friends, among them his beloved master, Aldus Manutius; accompanied by Venetian nobles and the most learned students of the day, — such as Marcus Musurus, Niccolò Sagundino, and Gian Giacomo Caroldo, — he went through the treasures in the great chronicler's library.²

Such homes of learning as these gradually became the rendezvous of all men of letters who felt the need to express their ideas, which expanded in the warm air of controversy. There were several of these salons of the learned to be met with in Venice. John Lascaris, Monsignore della Casa, and patricians like Paolo Paruta, Andrea Morosini, Gian Paolo da Ponte, Domenico Veniero, opened their doors to the erudite. Monsignore della Casa's coterie included the three prelates, the brothers Marco, Francesco, and Andrea Corner; Antonio Michiel, late rector of Bergamo, a man of great learning; and the *litterati* Gandolfo Porrino, Trifone Gabriele, Orazio Toscanella, and Girolamo Parabosco. In the midst of this company appeared, in 1544, Lorenzino de' Medici, and while their host would temper the weight of his discourses by reciting one of his light and graceful poems, Lorenzino would read aloud a scene from his *Aridosia*, or declaim his *Apologia*³ to the audience. It is pleasant to think of the lofty themes discussed in the home of Paolo Paruta, the meeting-place of all that was learned and wise; or in the little entresole of the house on the Grand

¹ Berchet, *M. Sanudo*, op. cit.

² Sanudo, *Diari*, XIII, 293.

³ Ferrai, *Lorenzino de' Medici e la Società cortigiana del Cinquecento*, pp. 338, 339. Milano, 1891.

Canal¹ at San Luca, where Andrea Morosini welcomed Galileo and Sarpi, with his faithful Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, Giordano Bruno, Santorre Santorio, Leonardo Donato, Niccolò Contarini, Marco Trevisan, Ottaviano Bon, Giannanonio Venier, Domenico Molin, Antonio Quirini, Giambattista Padavino.

Among these coteries in which the philosophers discussed natural science, the poets recited their own and other authors' verses, the musicians played and sang, one is especially famous, the house of Domenico Veniero. We have a detailed account as to the persons who frequented Veniero's saloons. Girolamo Parabosco was a constant attendant, not merely to arrange the concerts that were given, but also to listen to the *ragionar divino* of *spiriti chiari* such as Federico Badoaro, founder of the *Accademia della Fama*, the poet Girolamo Molin, Giovanni Battista Amalteo da Oderzo, Anton Giacomo Corso, Sperone Speroni, Aretino, and that *huomo divino*,² Adrian Willaert, the musician; besides there were Lorenzo Contarini the philosopher, Marcantonio and Benedetto Cornaro, the ambassadors Daniele Barbaro, Bartolomeo Vitturi, Alvise Zorzi, the Bolognese Ercole Bentivoglio and Alessandro Lambertini, Alessandro Colombo from Piacenza, Giambattista Susio, the doctor from Mirandola, Fortunio Spira of Viterbo, a learned Orientalist,³ Bernardo Tasso, Dionigi Atanagi, Luigi Belegno, Monsignor Fenarolo, Antonio Diedo, Celio Magno, and amidst all this learning a Cristoforo Mielichs, a German merchant, agent for the Fuggers of Augsburg, and no foe to good wine.⁴ In such a *cenacle*, where learning laid aside the robe and assumed a lighter garb,

¹ The house is close to Palazzo Farsetti, now the Municipio; it is numbered 4080-4090. Favaro, *Un ridotto scientifico in Venezia* (Nuovo Arch. Ven., V, 199).

² Parabosco, *Rime*, II, 54, 60. Vinegia, 1555.

³ Id., *I Diporti*, Novelle, p. 307. Milano, 1814.

⁴ Marcellino Valerio, *Il Diamerone, ove con vive ragioni si mostra la morte non esser quel male, che 'l senso si persuade*. Vinegia, 1565. The scene is laid in Veniero's house.

maybe the fair form of Veronica Franco was not altogether a stranger.

The poet Gian Giacomo Corso of Ancona, who lived long in Venice and died there in 1555, turns his thoughts from the villa of Revollone,¹ in the district of Padua, to the pleasant meetings in the house of Veniero, to whom he addresses a poem that adds other names to those already mentioned :

Dalla mia donna tornarò e da voi
nella bella città del mar padrona,
ch'amor pur mi ricorda i fatti suoi.

E fa sì che in oblio l'antica Ancona
ho posto in tutto e d'altro non mi cale
che del Veniero e d'un' altra persona . . .

Di gratia intanto, se il Vitturi² viene
a visitarvi, quel Vitturi io dico
che del mio cuor tutto l'impero tiene,

Fategli fede ch'io gli sono amico ;
e similmente s'altri per lui manda
farete al Dolce signor Lodovico.

Se 'l Badoaro o 'l Molin vi dimanda
del fatto mio, piacciavi dir loro
il Corso vostro vi si raccomanda.

Al gentil Gradenigo,³ al Susio, al Goro,
al Mezzabarba,⁴ al divin Pietro, al Nostro
medico, proprio dal Età del oro,

ditegli : questa carta e questo inchiostro
vi saluta via più di cento volte
per nome d'un ch'è tutto quanto vostro.

Al Parabosco ancora, e a quel che molte
fiate parla co i re senza rispetto
et ha di man le rime a Febo tolte.

Insomma a tutti, fin oltre il traghetto
vostro, a quelle tre fie raccomandeme
se voi non sete, come penso, in letto.

¹ *Le rime di M. Anton Giacomo Corso*. A San Luca, "al segno della Cognitione" [in Vinegia per Comin da Trino, 1550].

² Cicerone Vitturi, author of a work, *Synonyma*, in which he calls himself *rhetor disertissimus*.

³ This may be either Pietro, or Francesco, both poets, or Giorgio born in 1522.

⁴ Antonio Mezzabarba, whose poems were printed in Venice in 1536.

Di Revollone, villa nell' estreme
parti del Padovan, verso Alemagna,
che nè verno nè vento unqua non teme,

nel mosto immerso il Corso che si lagua
et ride a un tempo vi scrive, del mese
d'ottobre, l'anno che venne di Spagna
Filippo nel divin nostro paese.¹

Side by side with these private coteries rose the academies, regularly founded. The earliest example is that of the year 1484, when Ermolao Barbaro created an academy of philosophers in his house on the Giudecca.² The most illustrious of all these assemblies was the Aldine Academy,³ called after its founder and chief, Aldus Manutius, who there displayed his activity as humanist, editor, emendator of Greek, Latin, and mediæval texts, — in short, the whole of that marvellous intellectual, literary, and moral influence which was peculiarly his. The little academy founded by the Prince of Carpi was the germ whence sprang the Aldine institution, which met once a week on a stated day to discuss literary questions, texts which deserved publication, and the choice of readings.⁴ In these labours Bembo took an active part, and Aldus, when initiating the series of his Greek editions by the publication of Constantine Lascaris' Grammar, expresses his acknowledgments.⁵ Among the leading members of the Academy, which Aldus styled *Neoaccademia nostra*, we must especially mention Bembo, John Lascaris, Musurus, Egnazio, Paolo Canal, Girolamo Donato, Angelo Gabriele, Andrea Navagero, Marco Molino, Girolamo Menocchio, Giovanni Grecoropulos, Girolamo

¹ That is, 1548, the year in which Philip II passed through Italy on his way to Brussels.

² The Barbaro Palace on the Fondamenta di San Giovanni on the Giudecca passed into the family of the Nani, and there the historiographer Giambattista Nani founded the Academy of the *Filareti*.

³ Rossi, V, *Il Quattrocento*, pp. 144-149.

⁴ Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme*, op. cit., pp. 147-152, 435-470.

⁵ Cian, *Un decennio*, etc., op. cit., p. 100.

Aleandro, Scipione Forteguerri of Pistoia, who translated his name into Greek as *Carteromachos*, Doctor Ambrogio Leoni, Urbano Bolzanio, Bernardo Rucellai, and so on.¹ The Academy ceased to exist in 1517, two years after the death of Aldus.

About the year 1550 we find another academy, the *Pellegrina*, flourishing. It possessed a rich library, and a printing-press under the direction of Francesco Marcolini. Several Venetian noblemen, especially Cipriano Morosini,² lent their protection. But its members, among whom were Ercole Bentivoglio, Giason de Nores, Sansovino, and Dolce, did not devote themselves solely to art and letters; they also assisted the poor, sheltered and instructed foundlings, dowered maidens, and succoured needy men of letters. There are some who, in the Academy of the Pellegrini, which was suppressed in 1595, detect the germs of freemasonry.

In the year 1550 we find other academies in existence, — the *Platonica*, the *Uniti*, founded by Pietro da Mosto, and the *Dubbiosi*, who met in the house of Fortunato Martinengo; the club died with Martinengo, after a career of three years, but was called to life again by the poet Giulio Strozzi, who was born in Venice.³

Paolo Manuzio, in 1535, founded a society of young nobles, which was, perhaps, the germ of the celebrated academy, *della Fama*; but the club came to an end with Paolo's departure for Rome in 1538, and the Venetian academy, *della Fama*, was not founded till January of 1558, when Federigo Badoaro (b. 1513, d. 1593) called it into existence in his own house at "San Cantian." We have abundant proof that the club was founded in 1558, and not in 1556, as some

¹ De Nolhac, *Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce*. Rome, 1888.

² Doni, *I Marmi*, I, xxv. Firenze, 1863.

³ Battaglia, *Delle Accademie veneziane*, p. 16. Venezia, 1826.

assert; the following passage in a letter from Girolamo Molin to Bernardo Tasso makes it quite clear. "A giorni passati," he writes, "s'è congregato insieme una nobile compagnia sotto il titolo di Accademia Venetiana (22 gennaio 1558)."¹ The *Fama* took for its device a figure of Fortune, with her left foot on the globe, a trumpet to her lips, and in her hand a scroll with the legend, *Io volo al ciel per riposarmi in Dio*. The aims of this club may be better gathered from the list of works it published² than from the vague and quaint words of its founder Badoaro. "Ho fondata essa accademia," he says, on the eve of his departure from Venice on an important mission, "alla similitudine del corpo humano, il quale è fatto alla similitudine di Dio, conseguentemente ho giudicato non poter ricever essa perfetione maggiore." Bernardo Tasso was chancellor of the *Fama*; he had come to Venice in December of 1558 to see his *Amadigi* through the press, and in June of 1559 he was joined by his son Torquato, who found help and support from the members of the club.³ In 1561, and probably in August, the academy of *la Fama* disappeared. The heavy expenses reduced Badoaro to such straits that he infringed the laws of the Republic by applying for aid to foreign princes. Duke Henry of Brunswick was then living in Venice for the larger part of the year; he owned the palace which first belonged to the Loredano, and then to the Vendramin. Badoaro, with a lack of delicacy, applied to the pocket of the Duke, and failing to meet his obligations, the Ten "per il debito contratto sotto nome di accademia Venetiana et fraude commesse in tal maneggio" imprisoned "Federigo Badoer fo de ser

¹ See Bianchini, *Girolamo Parabosco*, p. 39, note.

² *Somma delle opere | che in tutte le scienze | et arti più nobili, et in varie lingue | ha da mandare in luce | l'Accademia Venetiana, | parte nuove, et non più stampate, | parte con fedellissime tradottioni, giudiciose correttioni, | et utilissime annotationi riformate. | Nell' Accademia Venetiana. | M.D.LVIII.*

³ Bianchini, *Un' accademia veneziana del secolo XVI*. Venezia, 1895.

Alvise, ser Giustinian et Zuanne Badoeri suoi nepoti de ser Sebastian, et parimenti l'abate Marlupino." On January 23, 1569, Badoero was acquitted; Marlupino was released without any damages; but their fellow-prisoner, Lodovico Paulello, was banished for ten years from the city and territory.¹

A second *Accademia Venetiana* came to life in the Cinquecento, and others called the *Incruscabili*, the *Uranici*, the *Riuniti*, the *Serafici*, the *Gelosi*, the *Rinati*, the *Confusi*, the *Instaurabili*, the clubs della *Notte* and dei *Disingannati*.²

Clubs sprang into existence on the mainland also, and at Padua we find the *Infiammati* and the *Eterei*; at Vicenza, the *Costanti*, the *Olimpici*, and the *Secreti*; at Verona, the *Filarmonici* and the *Astratti*; at Rovigo, the *Addormentati*, the *Uniti*, the *Cavalieri*, and the *Concordi*; at Adria, the *Illustrati*, whose president was the Cieco d'Adria, and the *Composti*; at Udine, the *Sventati*; at Treviso, the *Fecondi*, the *Solleciti*, and the *Anelanti*; and so on. One of the earliest of these clubs was founded at Pordenone, and is famous through its president, that striking personality, Bartolomeo d'Alviano, the celebrated general of the Republic, who affords us a proof that the toils of war need not imply the neglect of studies. In his castle of Pordenone Alviano founded a coterie, whose sittings were attended by such personages as Fracastoro, Navagero, and Alviano's faithful chancellor, Giovanni Cotta da Legnago (1480-1510), snatched at the early age of thirty from the pursuit of Latin letters, which, in the opinion of Flaminio and Sannazzaro, would have found in him a second Catullus.

Pietro Aretino did not spare the academies and their

¹ Arch. di Stato, Senato, *Terra*, Reg. 43, c. 97, and Registri Criminali, No. XI, from which it appears that Badoero was tried for his dealings with the Duke of Brunswick.

² Battagia, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 et seq.

“chatter,” though with his usual inconsequence he boasted of being a member of several. These academies gradually degenerated into associations inspired by vanity and folly, but it is impossible to ignore the benefits they conferred on letters and art during the early years of their existence.

END OF PART II, VOLUME I

9

10

11

12





DG 676 .M7

C.2

Venice,

Stanford University Libraries



3 6105 030 784 958

ART LIBRARY

DG

676

M7

Pl

V

C

